Volume XXIV] *December, 1909* [*Number 4*

POLITICAL SCIENCE QUARTERLY

SOCIAL SELF-CONTROL

AT a meeting of the inhabitants of Dorchester, Massachusetts, on October 28, 1634, it was "agreed that whosoever is chosen into any office for the good of the plantation, he shall abide by it or submit to a fine as the company shall think meet to impose." Less than a week later, on November 3, it was "ordered that no man within the plantation shall sell his house or lott to any man without the plantation whom they shall dislike of."[1]

In voting these measures the people of Dorchester only made definite and explicit a general policy adopted by all the early New England towns, and for a long time adhered to. No one was a franchise-exercising member of a town until he was formally admitted as a freeman, and at the outset church membership was a condition.

Historically interesting because of the conditions which it was intended to meet and because of the specific tests that were applied in carrying it out, this policy was not new or exceptional as a phenomenon of community action. Since human beings began to dwell together in groups and to work together in bands or companies, the groups and the bands have exercised supervision over their membership and over the conduct of their members. On a larger scale than ever before in human history, the United States today, through its immigration and naturalization laws, exercises supervision over the membership of a national community; and our local state and federal laws

[1] Fourth Report of the Record Commissioners of Boston (1880), document 9, pp. 7, 8.

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probably comprise the largest body of rules of conduct ever enacted by a politically organized population for the regulation of individual life.

It is not for the purpose of recalling a chapter of American history, however interesting it may be in itself, that these facts are here set down. They are given because they happen to exhibit clearly a social phenomenon that has been overlooked or forgotten in the construction of social science, but which may prove to be the point of departure for important discriminations.

The minutes cited from the Dorchester record quite plainly show that the inhabitants of that town were looking after the make-up of their community and the conduct of its members for at least two distinct purposes. The resolution that a man chosen to office must undertake its duties or pay a penalty shows that the Dorchester folk assumed that they were collectively *doing something*, not idly enjoying the pleasure of neighborly association while pursuing merely individual ends. Translated into the compact language of these latter days, the resolution tells us that the townsmen of Dorchester understood that they were attempting "team work," and that every man in the enterprise must accept that particular part of the task which "the team" assigned to him. The second resolution manifests an alert consciousness of the importance of group cohesion, a thing even more essential than individual efficiency as a factor in common enterprise. The members of the community must be agreeable one to another. The man "disliked of" should be kept out.

Let us now apply a bit of analysis to these elementary facts. The common activity of a community of the simpler sort—a neighborhood group of farmer folk, for example—may be extremely slight. Its team work may for a long time be potential only, a mere readiness to undertake the common defence, if necessary, or to coöperate in some emergency, as of flood or fire. In a large and complex community the team work is actual, often energetic, carefully organized and extremely varied. It provides for the common safety. It engages in the

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production of wealth. It establishes and maintains those rules of the game which collectively are called law, and it carries on government to ascertain and to apply the common will.

But whether actual and organized or only potential and unformed, the collective activity of any group of human units obviously presents to scientific view two unmistakably different aspects. A community collectively does things *for* itself—that is, for its members—and it collectively does things *to* or *upon* itself, scrutinizing and determining its membership, scrutinizing and censoring conduct. It does things collectively for itself, because experience has shown that many things can be accomplished by collective action or team work that cannot be accomplished adequately or at all by individual effort. It does things to itself, because experience has shown that not every aggregate of individuals can carry on team work effectively or even live together amicably.

This differentiation of social function into collective action for and collective action upon society would seem to be fundamental. If it is, we apparently have here the point of departure for a working distinction between certain special social sciences and a more general science of society. It is clear, for example, that the economist, in studying the social production and distribution of wealth, is primarily investigating the action of the community in doing an important work for its productive units. He concerns himself only incidentally with the reactions of economic activity upon the social composition and structure. In like manner the jurist, in studying the nature and the evolution of legal relations and activities, and the student of political science, in examining the nature and the evolution of government, are primarily looking at social functioning as it bears directly upon the well-being of component elements of society, although incidentally or secondarily they may be interested in consequent modifications of the integral social order. On the other hand, a student who has followed the genesis of the community itself and has observed that sooner or later it becomes aware of itself as a community and begins consciously to react upon itself, may then direct his further inquiries upon the nature, scope and consequences of the reaction. If he does

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this, he is engaged upon investigations which, in recent years, have been grouped under the name of general sociology.

In offering this distinction between general sociology and the special social sciences, I suppose that I am not making an essentially new generalization; certainly I am not doing violence to usage. For the distinction itself, I think, has unconsciously grown up in usage, and I am here merely recognizing it, pointing out the two distinct aspects of social functioning upon which it rests and putting it in explicit terms for more convenient application.

Assuming, then, that general sociology, whatever else it may comprise, is particularly concerned with the phenomenon of social self-control,[1] including under this term the social determination of the composition of the community, the control of conduct, the promotion of efficiency, the shaping of social organization and the determination of general policies, we may further look at the whole subject in certain other lights, hoping so to get a more rounded notion of what social self-control is, how it arises, what it does and by what methods it may be subjected to effective scientific study.

All nations compel their subjects to live under restraints and to perform prescribed acts. So far as their observed conduct goes, subjects must be loyal, whether or not they are patriotic at heart. In a lesser degree the modern nations constrain their subjects in accordance with some prevailing idea of the common good. The protective tariff, for example, does not altogether prevent, but it restricts, the purchase of desired commodities produced abroad.

Within the broad limits fixed by national policy, states and municipalities regulate the individual lives of their citizens in endless detail. From birth to death the pressure of organized society is hourly felt by its conscious units. Parental authority is restrained within bounds which the state prescribes. At the command of the state the child is taught and drilled. Growing

[1] In employing this term I am not trying to improve upon the phrase made familiar through Professor Ross's admirable book on "Social Control" but am only examining some aspects of social control more particularly.

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to manhood, he orders his walk and conversation as the state instructs, or he languishes in jail.

If the citizen, thus reared and moulded by an external power manifesting itself through government and law, happens to be a religious as well as a political animal, he finds himself subjected to further rules and orders. The church to which he belongs exacts an obedience sanctioned by penalties which may be as fearsome to his mind as are the fines and imprisonments imposed by a secular power. If he earns his bread in the sweat of his brow, he discovers that he is only partly free to work as he pleases, or when or as long as he pleases, or to make such contracts as his own best judgment approves. The "walking delegate" finds him out and instructs him in the ethics of industrial solidarity. If in idleness he consumes the substance that other men have provided and, in the quiet of his club, seeks refuge from the over-regulated life of a Philistine world, even there he encounters the rules committee taking cognizance of his language and his drinks, and standing ready to exclude him if he oversteps the line of that conduct which is reputable among gentlemen.

In barbarian and in savage communities the collective regulation of life is not less but greater than it is in the civilized state. The bounds that may not be overstepped are narrow and dread. Immemorial custom is inflexible, and half of all the possible joys of existence are forbidden and taboo.

Even in animal bands and herds, individual behavior is constrained. Inadequate or obnoxious members of the company are abandoned, expelled or killed by their fellows. We do not know that in animal groups there is any coöperative understanding in these matters. We can hardly suppose that there is. But through like response to the same stimulus or to similar stimuli, through example and imitation, through suggestion and impression, a real although non-reasoned coöperation is effected. While, therefore, we may not say that animal society abides by rules, we observe that it lives by usages or habits from which a member departs only at the risk of life.

There would be no excuse for bringing forward observations so commonplace as these if the general truth which they thrust

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upon us had not been very nearly left out of consideration in our attempts to establish the broad conceptions of a science of society. Whatever else society is, it is a group of units and relations which collectively acts under self-direction. It not only manifests a continuing process, as brain and nervous system manifest the processes of mind, as organic matter manifests the processes of life, but also, like living matter and like mind, it controls its own processes. Society constrains. Unconsciously at first, but consciously in its later and higher development, it brings pressure to bear upon its component units. It incites and restrains them. It trains and moulds them. It conforms them to a norm or type and sets limits to their variation from it.

Here, then, we have a generalization of significance. *Society is a type or norm or mode, which in a measure controls the variations from itself.*

In thus functioning, society, by instinctive and by rational effort, carries further and brings to greater precision that process which in its unconscious mode we call natural selection. In the organic struggle for existence those individuals and those groups survive which are adapted to the conditions under which they dwell. This is only another way of saying that organisms which in some fortunate way combine certain structures, qualities and traits, and which, therefore, conform closely to a type that happens to be suited to a given place, can live there; while individuals or groups that vary too widely from this type sooner or later fail there to perpetuate their race. Or, to put it in yet another way, in every inhabitable region there is an environmental constraint, compelling conformity of organic structure and of life to certain adapted or adaptable types, from which variation is possible only within somewhat definite limits.

It is because of this conformity to type that society arises. Typical units or individuals of a given species or variety are alike so far as they are typical. Animate individuals that closely resemble one another respond in like ways to the same given stimulus or to similar stimuli. So organized and respond-

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ing, they want the same things and by similar behavior try to obtain them. If the supply is inadequate for all and some part of it can be obtained by individual effort, like acts develop into competition. If the supply is adequate for all but cannot easily be obtained by individual effort, the like efforts of many individuals directed toward the same end develop, unconsciously or merely imitatively at first, but afterwards, in mankind, rationally, into coöperation. In either case, those adaptations which the animate organism, in common with all others, makes directly to its environment in general, are supplemented by a set of highly complicated adjustments made to the similar adaptations of other units like itself.

These adjustments of animate individuals to the like adaptations of other individuals of their own kind are the bases of social relations. Repeated and developed into habits, they create and establish those relationships which we call social organization.

The similarity which is antecedent to all these adjustments and relations becomes to some extent an object of consciousness in all associating creatures of the higher varieties. Appearing first as sympathy, it develops into a perception of likeness and at length, in mankind, into a more or less rationalized understanding of resemblances and differences, of agreements and dissensions. Step by step with this evolution of a consciousness of kind, the importance of "kind" itself is apprehended. Fundamental identities or similarities of nature and purpose, of instinct and habit, of mental and moral qualities, of capacities and abilities, are recognized as factors in the struggle for existence. To the extent that safety and prosperity depend upon group cohesion and coöperation, they are seen to depend upon such conformity to type as may suffice to insure the cohesion and to fulfil the coöperation.

Conforming to the requirement of group life—which itself is a product of the struggle for existence—animals instinctively, human beings instinctively and rationally, manifest a dominant antipathy to those variations from type which attract attention. There are striking exceptions to this rule, as there are to nearly all rules of behavior by organic units. But the rule is beyond

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question. From the insects to the highest mammals, individuals deformed or queer are commonly objects of instinctive or imitative attack and may be put to death by their fellows. Death or abandonment usually overtakes the conspicuous variates among savages and barbarians, while in civilized communities they are objects of suspicion and avoidance, or of guardianship or restraint, according to the state of enlightenment and the degree of humane feeling.

How far individual conduct in communities of social insects and gregarious animals is forced into conformity to type by a social, as distinct from an environmental, constraint, it is not possible on the basis of present knowledge to say. That the dead uniformity of human conduct in savage and barbarian communities is immediately a product of social constraint—largely spontaneous, imitative and unconscious, but also partly conscious and deliberate—and only remotely and indirectly a product of environmental constraint, is a fact too familiar to call for demonstration. By the conscious coöperation of elders in directing the rearing of children by young parents, by organized initiation ceremonies, by clan and tribal councils, each new generation is remorselessly trained in those beliefs, habits and loyalties which the group regards as vital to its existence. Carefully analyzed, the entire mass of inculcations and restrictions whereby individual behavior is controlled in uncivilized society may be seen to be a means of enforcing conformity to type, of recognizing and maintaining a "kind," for the ulterior purpose of ensuring group cohesion and coöperative efficiency.

The restraints, the inculcations, the obedience-compelling devices of civilized society are so varied and so interlaced that they easily mislead, and it is only after long and comprehensive study of them that one begins to grasp their nature and function. Stripped of all adventitious features, they one and all are means to the same general end which is served by social constraint in barbarian, in savage, in animal communities. They determine, limit and control variation from type, now extending its range, now narrowing it and compelling a closer conformity.

A word must here be added regarding the consequences of

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social control. Society constrains. What are the effects of constraint?

The proximate results are new or wider uniformities of behavior and ultimately of character. Life is made so difficult for the variates that stray too far from type that they go down in the struggle. Society, in a word, creates artificial conditions of existence which affect selection, as natural conditions do, by determining a selective death-rate. When, for example, a Christian civilization compels a savage population to wear clothes, it kills off those individuals whose viscera cannot adapt themselves to the unaccustomed burden. When society increases its educational pressure, it eliminates some who cannot endure further nerve strain or whose reproductive powers fail under the increased requirement of individuation. Social constraint then creates artificial conditions, which act selectively upon the associated units.

From a human point of view, such selective action may be good or evil. It may tend to produce and to perpetuate a stock of which intelligent minds think well, or one of which they think ill. From the point of view of the evolutionary process, the selected and surviving stock may be one which perpetuates its line with diminishing or with increasing cost to the individual. Assuming that race perpetuation with diminishing cost to the individual, or with actual increase of individual opportunity and happiness, is worth while and is, substantially, the thing which mankind calls progress, we may say that social constraint makes for progress or against it.

Summarizing the foregoing observations, we note that the unconscious evolutionary process in nature creates types. Because they conform more or less closely to type, animate organisms of the same variety or kind want the same things and in like ways try to obtain them. The various primary adaptations to environment, therefore, are inevitably supplemented by adjustments made by each individual to the similar adaptations of fellow-individuals. Group relations in which both competitive and coöperative activities are carried on—unconsciously or only imitatively at first, but presently, in the human

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species, deliberately—therefore necessarily appear. Society comes into existence. The conscious units of human society become increasingly aware of differences and resemblances among themselves. They apprehend the extent of their conformity to type or kind. The belief arises among them that in most instances marked departure from type is dangerous to the safety of the group or is a limitation of coöperative efficiency. Conformity to type is regarded as contributing both to the safety and to the efficiency of the group. Out of this notion grow conscious efforts to increase conformity, to scrutinize the "kinds" and to limit the range of variation. A social constraint is consciously evolved which exerts its pressure upon all component units of the group. Like environmental constraints, social constraint affects selection. In the long run it makes itself felt in the selective death-rate. The kind or type that survives under social pressure is believed by the conscious units of society to be relatively efficient in the struggle for existence. It is supposed also to be relatively individualized. A group or community in which increasing individuation is secured without imperiling race maintenance thinks of itself as progressive.

These phenomena present four general problems for scientific investigation, namely: first, the general problem of the origin and evolution of society; second, the general problem of social constraint and the conformation of behavior and character to type as the immediate and general function of society; third, the problem of the effect of social constraint upon selection; and fourth, the problem of the final consequence of social constraint conceived as an amount or a rate of progress.

The scientific investigation of these four correlated problems is the task of the sociologist. Sociology is the science of the origin, the process, the extent and the results of type control of variation from itself, within a group or population of more or less freely associating individuals.

The foregoing account or interpretation of social phenomena is reasonably clear, I hope, to readers familiar with the ideas and the terms employed in the evolutionist explanation of the natural world. Perhaps it is not altogether clear to minds un-

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familiar with evolutionist literature and accustomed in their thinking about social relations to use only the familiar terms of every-day experience—terms of history, of politics and of business or of religious, educational and philanthropic activity. It may be useful, therefore, to translate into these more familiar terms the conceptions above presented.

How does any given social organization, as a church, a trade union, a political party or a state, secure conformity among its members to certain standards of belief and practice, to preferred models of deportment, and the maintenance of a certain efficiency in coöperation? The child or the wayfaring man can answer. It offers rewards; it inflicts disabilities and punishments. By praise and blame, by avoidance and rebuke, by indulgence and license, by penance and fine, by suspension and expulsion, by corporal punishment and maiming, by imprisonment and execution, men are forced to desist, to obey, to help; their conduct is educated into habits; their efforts are stimulated or goaded to acceptable degrees of intensity and persistence; their characters are moulded to approved types.

For all these processes of social constraint and regulation in their entirety, society has its own descriptive name. Collectively they constitute the thing familiarly known as *discipline*.

The creation and perfecting of discipline, the standardizing of conduct and character by means of discipline, has been the work upon which society has directed its conscious efforts from the beginning. At first instinctively, afterwards more or less rationally, it has discovered, applied and tested the various disciplinary measures. The object in view from the first has been to diminish the failures and to multiply the successes of gregarious animals, of associating human beings, in the struggle for existence. And the particular methods constituting discipline have been employed in the conviction that much conformity to kind or type or standard is essential to security and to coöperative efficiency.

Society, then, in the simple language of every-day life, is an organization for the promotion of well-being and efficiency by means of standardization and discipline.

This is the same thing as to say, in evolutionist terms, that

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society is a type, controlling variation from itself for its own survival and further evolution. Discipline, from the evolutionist point of view, is a distinct phenomenon, differing in kind, rather than in mere degree, from all others. Motion, the activity of all matter, inorganic or organic; metabolism, the activity of organic matter; response to stimulus, the activity of animate organic matter; discipline, the activity of type-conforming conscious groups—this is the series of natural phenomena. Physics and chemistry, biology, psychology and anthropology, sociology—these are the corresponding sciences.

Sociology, accordingly, defined in the language of ordinary life, is the science of the phenomena of discipline, including the study of their rise and evolution, their nature, methods and extent, and their consequences, both for the community as such, and for the individuals which compose it.

Material for the descriptive and historical study of the evolution of discipline and of the relations of discipline to efficiency, to individuation and to survival, is abundant. Descriptive and historical sociology is already well advanced. From the nature of the social phenomenon, as consisting essentially in partial control, by a type, of variation from itself, it is one which preeminently calls for precise or quantitative study by the statistical method.

In making this last affirmation I am assuming that the phenomenon of type as it appears among natural objects, including forms of plant and animal life, as it appears in mental processes and in conduct, and as it appears in the groupings and the collective activities of individuals socially organized, can always be expressed in the statistical terms of "frequency" and "mode." In other words, a type or norm can always be resolved into numerical elements. In biology and in psychology the conversion of data into numerical form and their subsequent analysis by statistical methods have already placed these sciences on a basis of approximate exactness. There is no reason for supposing that the statement of essential data in numerical terms is by nature of the facts more difficult in sociology than it is in other sciences.

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It is, therefore, not because of the nature of its problems that sociology has made slow progress toward good scientific form with consequent power of prevision. Its halting pace has been due in part to failure to perceive the exact nature of its subject-matter and of its problems, in part to the past and present lack of adequate collections of statistical data. More largely, however, I am disposed to think, our slow progress may be attributed to our failure hitherto to comprehend a great process of social evolution which has been going on under our eyes, and which already has been numerically described in statistical reports, the full significance of which we have not yet quite apprehended.

The clustering of individual measures, or of their frequencies, about an average or a mode may be conceived as a consequence of pressure exerted upon them. In biological and psychological statistics we assume that conformity of living forms or actions to a type is a consequence of various environmental constraints. Social types, kinds, classes are produced in part by constraints deliberately imposed by the community or the class upon its units. Discipline is created and applied with conscious intent. It is of primary interest, therefore, to inquire whether it is possible to measure or at least to obtain a fairly sensitive index of the strength and the distribution of (1) disciplinary or constraining intent, (2) the disciplinary or constraining effect.

At this point it may be well to explain that disciplinary intent and disciplinary effect may otherwise be described as consequences of primary and secondary social pressure. Conscious disciplinary intent, exhibited by a community or by some portion of it, is itself a consequence of a social pressure, partly unconscious and more or less unconsciously brought to bear upon individual minds. In other words, a common intent or purpose is a product of innumerable suggestions, examples, imitations and discussions and of a diffused approval or opposition, all combining in a constraint to which every individual is subjected. This is the primary social pressure. It is measured by the amount of common purpose or intent which it creates. Accordingly any measure of common intent is a measure of primary social pres-

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sure. But common intent, in its turn, exerts a disciplinary constraint which is more or less effective. It actually does, or fails to do, the thing that it desires and undertakes. If we could obtain a statistical measure of actual disciplinary achievement through consciously exerted social constraint, we should have a measure of secondary social pressure.

In an article on "The Measurement of Social Pressure,"[1] I have suggested a method for obtaining index numbers from an analysis of the statutory enactments of legislative bodies. Whatever else it may be, statute law is undeniably an expression of social intent and is, therefore, a measure of primary social pressure. The index numbers that I have suggested would not be absolute measures of the disciplinary intent of society, any more than the familiar index numbers of prices are absolute measures of economic values. But like index numbers of prices, they would indicate the frequency and the extent of fluctuation.

For the measurement of secondary social pressure, or the actual effect of social pressure upon individuals, we do not at present possess the requisite statistical data, and it must be admitted that the difficulties in the way of obtaining them for any large population are serious. On a small scale, of course, disciplinary effect can be studied statistically; for example, in the schoolroom, in the church, in the factory, in the trade union and in the army. And it may be anticipated that intensive studies within these groups will have value. But for the statistical investigation of the effects of social constraint exerted on a large scale and over a wide field, we must seek our data in collections of facts relating to other than the individual elements of society.

There are other elements, and it was to them that I referred a few paragraphs back, as affording statistical material, the significance of which has not hitherto been fully apprehended. Modern political communities are continually reacting not only upon their elemental units, human individuals, but also quite as extensively upon the component and the constituent groups

[1] *Quarterly Publications of the American Statistical Association*, March, 1908.

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which enter into their highly complex organization. The empire or federal nation reacts upon its component nations or commonwealths, and the commonwealth upon its component municipalities and townships or towns. With even greater energy and insistence, nation and commonwealth at this present time react upon those artificial persons created by the state, the corporations. In much the same way in which the small communities discipline their individual members and compel them within a tolerated range of variation to conform to type, nations and commonwealths enforce conformity to type by towns, municipalities and corporations, controlling to some extent their composition and prescribing in much detail their conduct. This disciplinary activity of society on a large scale is, as a thing of necessity, kept track of and described in official reports, most of them statistical. We have, therefore, a mass of numerical data, much of which is available for a strictly scientific analysis of the extent and intensity of secondary social pressure within the nation and the commonwealth.

In the hope that, by calling attention to this large opportunity for sociological research, I may persuade adequately trained students to undertake promising investigations, I wish to mention here some of the feasible points of attack.

The determined but unsuccessful attempt made by the federal government, after the Civil War, to compel the reconstructed southern states to grant full political and civil rights to the enfranchised negroes, has been studied exhaustively by the methods of the historian and the constitutional lawyer. It should be re-analyzed by the methods of the sociological statistician. Just how extensive were the forces brought to bear? How much did they increase and decrease by five-year periods, from 1865 to 1895? In like manner, what were the forces of resistance numerically described? Grouping the figures by five-year periods, what local areas, *i. e.* counties, successfully resisted the federal pressure, until entire commonwealths began to devise the ingenious legislation whereby in the end nearly the entire negro voting population was eliminated from political contests?

Turning to the constraint exercised by commonwealths upon

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their component cities and towns, there have been, since the Civil War period, two interesting examples which could be subjected to statistical examination. A period of enthusiasm for railroad building was marked by the reckless haste of towns and townships in all parts of the northern half of the United States to bond themselves in aid of new railroad enterprises. When insolvency threatened both towns and the taxpayers, a sharp reaction set in, and commonwealths, east and west, enacted legislation forbidding towns to assume such obligations. More recently, the enormous increase of municipal indebtedness has provoked drastic action in some of the states, including New York, fixing a legal limit for municipal borrowing. A hard and fast limit is vigorously opposed by powerful interests, and is disapproved by others. Apparently we are to see a struggle to make the limit by various devices practically elastic. This should afford an exceptionally valuable lot of numerical data for the statistical measure of a fluctuating social constraint, and, examined in the light of the contrast it is likely to offer to the history of the summary suppression of the town-bonding craze, such a study should be instructive.

Contrasted with that constraint of municipalities and towns which takes the form of imperative command to perform or to desist, is a mode of pressure which has rapidly been increasing in recent years. It is applied through the activity of state commissions, having little or no power arbitrarily to compel but large powers of persuasion and inducement. Those whose studies have not made them familiar with this peculiarly modern development of governmental action would be astonished were they to look through an adequate statistical exhibit of the work that has been accomplished by state commissions in standardizing the local administration of sanitation, education and poor relief. The facts presumably offer a delicate measure of fluctuating social pressure, and this measure the sociological statistician should attempt to derive from them.

Of all the processes of social evolution, past or present, none is of greater interest, and none makes more powerful appeal to scientific intelligence by reason of the magnitude of the interests involved, than the struggle for mastery now going on be-

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tween integral society and the corporations. It is nothing less than a trying-out of the issue of sovereignty, not as spectacular as was the conflict between the nation and the rebellious commonwealths in the Civil War, but quite as real. It is a conflict that does not admit of compromise, between bodies created by the state but now controlling the capitalized wealth of the nation, on the one hand, and the politically organized people of the nation, on the other hand, to determine which has the power to compel obedience and thereby to rule. The issue is not doubtful. Already it is foreseen and discounted. The politically organized people are bringing a pressure to bear upon their legally created subjects which is irresistible, and which will compel so much conformity to type in matters of form, of dimensions and of obedience as experience may show to be expedient. For the interpretation of the experience we shall need the most exact statistical analyses.

Wherever the pressure applied is elastic, the resulting effects afford good data for statistical determinations of degree. Among the best examples for this purpose are those afforded by public regulation of banking, insurance and railroad corporations.

The national banking laws, by a nice adjustment of pressure, have created a dominant type of banking institution, without forbidding or destroying all variations from it. A careful statistical analysis, therefore, of the rise of the national banking system, including the rate at which the national bank displaced its predecessor, the state bank, the subsequent revival of state banking enterprise and the evolution of the trust company, should afford a satisfactory measure of the fluctuating extent and intensity of a social pressure that has been directed upon one class of corporate organizations. Even more instructive in some particulars would be a similar study of the state control of insurance company organization and enterprise, because in this field the different commonwealths have exhibited differing purposes and have followed differing methods. Most enlightening of all, when we get it, will be the statistical analysis of the public control of railway organization and conduct, because here we have the effect of a dominant and central constraint, exercised through federal law and the Interstate Commerce Com-

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mission, supplemented by the varying efforts of the commonwealths, producing local variations in results.[1]

The statistical studies that have here been suggested are only a few of the relatively simple and more generally interesting ones among a large number that I hope will some day be undertaken. The percentages, the index numbers and the coefficients of variation that could be obtained by any one of them would of course not suffice to measure the varying constraint of society upon the totality of its component and constituent groups. Each would measure one particular line of

[1] As an illustration of method (as perfected by H. L. Moore, *cf.* POLITICAL SCIENCE QUARTERLY, vol. xxii[1907], p.64) the following tables are offered. The pressure of the federal government upon the railroad corporations to equip all passenger and freight cars with the train break and the automatic coupler has been practically constant for more than ten years. The detail of the tables shows the extent of standardization. The diminishing coefficient of variation shows the increasing uniformity of non-resistance and active compliance throughout the ten territorial groups in which the Interstate Commerce Commission has placed the railroads of the country.

EXTENT OF USE OF TRAIN BRAKE AND AUTOMATIC COUPLER, 1897

RAILROADS	TOTAL CARS IN SERVICE	CARS WITH TRAIN BRAKE	PER CENT WITH TRAIN BRAKE	CARS WITH AUTOMATIC COUPLER	PER CENT WITH AUTOMATIC COUPLER
Group I . .	58,159	24,728	47.50	34,116	58.66
Group II . .	396,272	127,559	32.08	229,346	57.88
Group III . .	246,198	71,308	28.92	123,080	49.89
Group IV . .	54,811	15,695	28.63	23,864	43.63
Group V . .	82,906	17,153	23.00	28,493	34.39
Group VI . .	257,934	116,262	45.20	145,324	56.45
Group VII. .	36,783	24,705	67.25	22,443	61.19
Group VIII .	97,082	52,695	54.31	33,571	34.50
Group IX. .	28,728	13,828	48.48	11,786	40.78
Group X . .	38,607	28,626	74.21	16,914	43.82
United States.	1,297,480	492,559	38.03	668,937	52.32
		Average of per cents .	44.96	Average of per cents .	48.12
		Standard deviation.	16.19	Standard deviation.	9.52
		Coefficient of variation.	36.01	Coefficient of variation.	19.79

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social pressure only. But when we have obtained a large number of particular measures, we can begin to group and to analyze them also, as we grouped and analyzed their data, observing whether they disclose a central tendency. A final analysis, then, would show us the fluctuations of secondary social pressure in general, its tendency on the whole toward increasing scope and intensity of constraint or toward relaxation.

The question may naturally and properly be raised whether numerical measures of social constraint, both primary and secondary, would afford us any knowledge of social causation or of the trend of social evolution that we could not more directly obtain by other methods of inquiry. The same question was raised when exact statistical methods were introduced in biology, in psychology and in economics. We may confidently anticipate that the conclusive answer which trial and demonstration have afforded in those sciences will be reached and accepted in sociology also.

EXTENT OF USE OF TRAIN BRAKE AND AUTOMATIC COUPLER, 1907

RAILROADS	TOTAL CARS IN SERVICE	CARS WITH TRAIN BRAKE	PER CENT WITH TRAIN BRAKE	CARS WITH AUTOMATIC COUPLER	PER CENT WITH AUTOMATIC COUPLER
Group I. . .	72,739	68,277	93.88	69,995	96.18
Group II .	528,683	502,136	94.90	525,426	99.38
Group III. .	401,728	376,723	93.82	399,649	99.48
Group IV . .	117,998	111,720	95.18	116,357	98.60
Group V. . .	175,232	165,525	94.50	173,821	99.19
Group VI. .	431,538	401,913	93.15	426,457	98.79
Group VII. .	66,148	62,452	94.30	64,375	97.25
Group VIII	188,619	178,544	94.68	187,505	99.43
Group IX . .	57,879	53,993	93.30	56,296	97.65
Group X .	86,030	83,412	96.95	84,646	98.46
United States.	2,126,594	2,004,695	94.25	2,104,527	98.90
		Average of per cents .	94.47	Average of per cents	98.44
		Standard deviation.	1.02	Standard deviation.	1.01
		Coefficient of variation.	1.08	Coefficient of variation.	1.02

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A simple illustration may help to make the point clear. The temperature of the human body in health fluctuates within narrow limits about the normal of 98.5° Fahrenheit. Under the physiological disturbance of disease or of shock, the range of variation is greatly widened, and every one acquainted with modern medical practice, in hospitals and elsewhere, knows how closely the temperature curve is watched by nurses and physicians. In most cases the fact of illness or of shock is known independently of any scrutiny of the chart. But there are instances, sometimes critical ones, in which the temperature fluctuation affords the first warning; and in all cases it affords the warning that possesses the qualities of exactness and degree, and upon precisely these qualities the issues of life and death may turn. In other cases the condition of the system is made known by a blood test that is statistical in form, consisting in a count of corpuscles exhibiting certain characteristics.

It is reasonable to suppose that the social constraint which in any given community bears upon individuals and upon component or constituent groups is, under ordinary conditions, of a degree and an extent that might properly be described as normal, and that any considerable fluctuation from normal, could we measure it, would immediately make known to us the action of disturbing forces. The value of such knowledge can hardly be overestimated. The question, how much restraint, how much liberty, how much conformity to type, how much variation from it, are conducive to the general welfare, is the supremely important question in all issues of public policy. The right answer to it turns upon the determination of a previous question, namely, what is normal social constraint in a given community, at a given stage of its evolution, and what at a given moment is the actual range of fluctuation?

To obtain, then, determinations of normal social constraint for modern communities, including municipalities, commonwealths and nations, and to perfect the methods of measuring fluctuations must, I think, be regarded as the chief object of sociological effort in the immediate future. That the effort will be successful is, I am convinced, a fairly safe prediction.

F. H. GIDDINGS.

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THE BALLOT'S BURDEN

WE have tried in the United States almost every scheme known in the history of politics except simple, direct, responsible government. By a strange perversity of fate, the fear of democracy and the passion for democracy have led to the same result—the creation of a heavy and complicated political mechanism, yielding quickly enough to the operations of the political expert and blocking at every turn the attempts of the people to work it honestly and efficiently. Powerful private interests find their best shelter behind a multiplicity of barriers, politicians have no desire to make plain the rules of the game, and reformers generally attack corruption or inefficiency by adding some new office or board of control. As an outcome, we now have such a complex of offices, commissions, caucuses, primaries, conventions and elections that the ordinary citizens, engrossed in the struggle for a livelihood, have been unable to maintain control over their own government, and it has fallen more and more completely into the hands of the professional politician, aptly described by Mr. Childs as one "who knows more about the voter's political business than the voter does himself." [1] Before we can accomplish any considerable reform in the conduct of state or municipal affairs under the present system, it is generally necessary to break down a controlling organization of experts; and to do this we must create another organization of experts which, for one reason or another, generally becomes as bad as that which it has displaced. And so the endless warfare of American politics goes on, dissipating the energies that might be devoted to the work of government in more or less fruitless contests over the possession of its mechanism.[2]

[1] Article on "The Short Ballot," *Outlook*, July 17, 1909.

[2] President Lowell has pointed out that England "has little that resembles the two correlative types of men common in American public life, the spoilsman and the reformer." Government of England, vol. ii, p. 55.

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There, are, however, a few indications that some portions of the electorate are becoming dimly conscious that the political instruments with which they are attempting to wage the battle of democracy are wholly unsuited for the fray. The recent tendency to exalt the executive [1] is doubtless due principally to the feeling on the part of the voters that the best way to secure results is to concentrate attention on, and to work through, the executive, rather than to waste time in contests over a multitude of offices. The important reforms achieved in some states by this process and the wholesome effect which it has had in arousing the political consciousness of the people are beyond question. But this tendency toward executive government is extra-legal, and it is not without its dangers for the representative system, which is, in the long run, the real safeguard of democracy. Nevertheless, the movement has demonstrated that the American people have an interest in, and a capacity for, real politics, as distinguished from the pettifogging of the office-mongers or the intrigues of privilege-seekers; and it has also shown that our public opinion can translate itself into action when it operates upon a simple piece of mechanism. The lesson of this is surely obvious: the ballot should be so simplified as to concentrate the public attention upon the choice of a few powerful and responsible officers.

The point of contact between the average voter and his government is the ballot—a fact much neglected in our political literature. Those who are active in party organizations may of course bring pressure to bear on certain public functionaries in proportion to their "influence"; but in most instances the penalties of being active in politics are too severe for the man who has no talent in devising summer outings, winter festivals, huckleberry-pie contests and other diversions for keeping his "fellow citizens" in good humor with the organization.[2] An excess of this kind of "practical politics" constitutes, however, a danger to liberty and, by lowering the standard of political

[1] See an article by Gamaliel Bradford in *The Nation*, vol. lxxvi, p. 208.

[2] For extracts from New York newspapers illustrating the "practical" work of politics, see Beard, Readings in American Government and Politics, pp. 579 *et seq.*

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intelligence and public interest, tends to make a genuine democracy impossible. The great political question of our day is not how best to keep the rank and file under party discipline, but how to make it possible for the voter with his ballot in hand on election day to become a real factor in determining the character of our government.

Nowhere has the "sovereign voter" received more adulation than in the United States, and nowhere has the power of sovereignty been more frittered away in futile agitations and the collateral incidents of practical politics. We have rightly felt that there was something gratifying and inspiring in the spectacle of the common people rising to the height of self-government; and we have paid wordy tribute to the power of the ballot; but we have made little effort to ascertain what the ballot can really do. We have apparently assumed that it can do everything, from deciding who among ten thousand should be clerk of a municipal court to prescribing what should be done with the surface dirt removed from a street by a public contractor.[1] For more than a century we have been adding burdens to the ballot, until the logical outcome of the tendency seems to be the creation in every election district of boards to assist the citizen in marking his ballot.

We began our political history with a short ballot. Under the first constitution of New York (1777), the governor, the lieutenant governor and the members of the legislature were the only state officers elected by popular vote; all others were selected by the council of appointment, consisting of the governor and four senators chosen by the Assembly. Even sheriffs, county judges and other county officers were appointed in the same manner. The first constitution of Virginia vested the choice of the members of the legislature in the voters; the governor and other state officers were elected by joint ballot of the legislature; the justices of the peace were appointed by the governor; the sheriffs and coroners were appointed by the respective courts. Under the first Massachusetts constitution, the

[1] See facsimile of the Portland, Oregon, ballot, at p. 600.

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governor, the lieutenant governor and the members of the legislature were elected by popular vote; the leading state officers were chosen by the legislature, and the minor state officers and some local officers were appointed by the governor. This general plan was adopted in the western states also. The Ohio constitution of 1802 provided that only the governor and the legislature should be elected by the people, and that the other state officers should be chosen by joint ballot of both houses.

As every student of our political history knows, our institutions underwent a democratic revolution, or what purported to be a democratic revolution, during the first half of the nineteenth century. Property and religious tests were swept away; the suffrage was extended to all adult white males; and a multitude of appointive offices were made elective. The whole process is illustrated in the constitutional evolution of New York. The constitutional revision of 1821, which aimed to abolish the council of appointment rather than to democratize the entire system, left the leading state officers, except the governor and the lieutenant governor, appointive and gave the appointing power to the legislature.[1] The great revolution came in 1846, when the governor, lieutenant governor, secretary of state, comptroller, treasurer, attorney-general, state engineer and surveyor, canal commissioner, inspector of state prisons, the judges of the court of appeals and the justices of the supreme court were made elective. A similar revolution occurred in all except a few states. New Jersey, for instance, escaped the tidal wave; the constitutional revision of 1844 left the judges and nearly all the state officers appointive.

It is commonly supposed that this great democratic upheaval was due to the leaven of French political philosophy working through Jeffersonian democracy. It is true that the notion of elective government was prominent in the philosophy of many French publicists; it was inherent in Rousseau's popular sovereignty, and found its way with a vengeance in the revolutionary constitution of 1791, until the poor clod-hopper's head, as Napoleon put it, was addled with elections. It is likewise true that

[1] Except as to the judges.

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Jefferson included elective government among the cardinal doctrines of his system.

> We believed [he said] that man was a rational animal, endowed by nature with rights and with an innate sense of justice; and that he could be restrained from wrong and protected in right by moderate powers confided to persons of his own choice and held to their duties by dependence on his own will.[1]

It is also true that the doctrine of an elective administration was propagated with great zeal by democratic enthusiasts during the sixty years that followed the establishment of our independence—propagated with such zeal that the people were converted and the notion was hardened into a political dogma that cannot be shaken by mere ratiocination.

Nevertheless there were potent forces besides "political principles" which precipitated this revolution. It requires no very deep research to discover that the appointive system worked badly in a large number of cases. A study of the debates of the state conventions which overthrew the older system yields abundant evidence in addition to that afforded by the controversial literature of the time. The early constitution makers did not adopt a system that would fix responsibility. They were too much afraid of the governor, not merely on account of their republican ideas but on account of their practical experience with the colonial governor, to entrust him with a considerable appointing power. In New York (1777) his appointive authority, as we have seen, was shared by a council of appointment, constructed by the following process. Once a year the Assembly selected a senator from each of the four great districts into which the state was divided, and the four senators with the governor constituted the council; the governor was the presiding officer and had a casting vote only. In actual practice each member of the council claimed a nominating power equal to that of the governor, and until its abolition in 1821 this body was the center of notorious partisan intrigues over patronage. In denouncing the system in his message of 1820, Governor De Witt Clinton said:

[1] Jefferson, Works (1855), vol. iii, p. 290.

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The offices in the gift of this council are remunerated by salaries or fees to the amount of a million dollars annually. Combinations will be formed to obtain control of this enormous patronage. And they will attempt to influence, in the first place, the elections of the people, by dictating under the forms and discipline of party; secondly, the selection of the appointing power; and thirdly, the operations of that institution. . . . With this principle of irritation in our constitution, the hydra of faction will be in constant operation, endeavoring to make its way to power sometimes by open denunciation, at others by secret intrigue, and always by artful approaches. The responsibility of public officers is essential to the due performance of their trust and is demanded by the properties of delegated power and the best interests of the community. The council as constituted is almost destitute of this essential attribute. The political tranquillity of the state demands a different arrangement of the appointing power.[1]

In short, it is difficult to imagine a system better calculated to introduce obscurity into the administration of a state.[2]

In the other commonwealths the appointing power was vested in the legislature or in the governor and Senate, or distributed in such a way as to confuse responsibilities, entangle the legislature in administrative functions and prevent the leading state offices from falling wholly under the control of any person or body of persons. The natural consequence seems to have been, in nearly every case, that the appointing power passed from the public authorities in which it was vested by law into the hands of organizations unknown to the law and only slightly or not at all subject to the pressure of public opinion. Appointment by the legislature on a large scale was a new experiment in American politics, for the power had not been generally exercised by colonial legislatures[3]; and it required very little experience to demonstrate that appointment by a numerous assembly was about the most successful way of destroying responsibility that could have been devised.

The recognition of this fact is apparent in the debates of the

[1] Cited in Lincoln, The Constitutional History of New York, vol. iii, p. 615.

[2] See Gitterman, "The Council of Appointment in New York," in the POLITICAL SCIENCE QUARTERLY, vol. vii, pp. 80 *et seq.*

[3] Except in New England.

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mid-century conventions that overthrew the appointive system. The experiment, tried under the New York constitution of 1821, of allowing the legislature to select some officers and the governor and Senate to select others did not work much better than the old council of appointment; for an extra-legal machine known as "the Albany regency" sprang up and controlled all appointments by secret operations in the legislature. Appointment to office by the legislative department, said Mr. Williams in the Ohio convention of 1850,

> has tended to embitter party spirit and convert the general assembly into a mere political arena, and to some extent corrupt the pure fountain of legislation. . . . It is very certain that the principle which gives directly to the sovereign people the sole power of appointments to office is gaining ground.[1]

This view is confirmed by Rufus King in his work on Ohio. The legislature, he writes,

> overloaded with the appointing power which had been taken away from the executive, became so much depraved in the traffic of offices, that in an assembly where there was a tie vote between the Democrats and Whigs, two Free Soilers held the balance of power and were permitted to choose a United States senator in consideration of giving their votes for every other appointment to the party which aided them in this supreme exploit of jobbery.[2]

The transformation of the legislature into a chamber of intrigue for office-hunters also occurred in Illinois.[3] In short, it seems to have happened in every state that tried the system.

This unhappy experience with a variety of appointing schemes and certain prevalent theories of democracy brought our state constitution makers gradually to the acceptance of the plan of popular election as the remedy for the evils which had sprung up and also as the goal of our political development. One after the other the old offices were made elective, and, as

[1] Debates and Proceedings of the Convention for the Revision of the Constitution of the State of Ohio (1850–51), vol. i, p. 87.

[2] King, Ohio, p. 291.

[3] Davidson and Stuvé, History of Illinois, pp. 297 *et seq.*

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newer state offices of importance were created, the principle was applied as a matter of course. When it was suggested in a convention or legislature that the governor might appoint a state auditor or engineer or veterinarian, some advocate of fundamental democracy was sure to plead in tremulous tones the rights of the people. "I believe the voters of this commonwealth are competent to elect their treasurer," exclaimed Mr. Hanks in the Kentucky convention of 1890, when it was proposed to give the governor the power to appoint the officer.

> I know full well that they are able to elect a governor. . . . I love our form of government. I love it for its glory, beauty and its grandeur. I love it for what it has accomplished; but while I love it, I loathe in the deepest recesses of my heart any effort whatever that will go in the direction of taking from the people of Kentucky the right to choose their own officers.[1]

While the more recent developments in state administration, in particular the multiplication of boards and commissions appointed by the governor (generally in connection with the upper house of the legislature), have led many publicists to believe that we are in the midst of a movement toward greater administrative centralization, there is abundant evidence that the notion of an elective administration has a strong grip on the American public. An examination of the governors' messages for the eight years, 1900–1907, reveals currents in the direction of centralization, but it also reveals many counter-currents. Governor Bates of Massachusetts, in his message of January 7, 1904, favored fixing responsibility in the governor by giving him the power of appointing the heads of the principal departments. Governor Garvin of Rhode Island, in the same year, recommended a similar policy. Governor Hughes of New York, in his inaugural of 1909, made a plea for an executive power commensurate with executive responsibility.[2]

In the South and West, however, we find governors demanding an extension of the limits of the elective principle. Gover-

[1] Debates in the Kentucky Constitutional Convention, 1890, vol. i, pp. 1419 *et seq.*

[2] Reprinted in part in Beard, Readings in American Government, p. 436.

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nor Vardaman of Mississippi, in his message of 1904, and Governor Blanchard of Louisiana, in his messages of 1904 and 1906, strongly advised the transformation of many appointive offices into elective offices. Governor Toole of Montana, in his communication to the legislature of January 5, 1903, spoke in the strain of a true Jeffersonian Democrat:

> The people should elect all important officers of the state government. Under the law as it now stands, the governor of the state appoints the state examiner, state inspector, state coal mine inspector, steam boiler inspector, commissioner of agriculture and labor, state veterinarian, registrar of the state land office, and state land agent and game warden. . . . It is the system that is reprehensible—a system which is inconsistent and inharmonious with the genius and spirit of our institutions in its attempt, without reason or necessity, to mingle or fuse together disagreeing elements of a democracy and a monarchy. In short, in my opinion, executive appointments or patronage, if you please, and popular sovereignty are antagonistic elements in our form of government and ought to be abandoned.[1]

The same diverse tendencies that are shown by the governors' messages are revealed by a careful study of the laws creating the more important state offices during the same period, 1900–1907. They may be summarized as follows:

Appointive offices made elective. Virginia: treasurer, secretary of the commonwealth, superintendent of public instruction (1902). West Virginia: secretary of state (1903). Kansas: state printer (1906). Louisiana: supreme court justices, registrar of the land office, commissioner of agriculture and immigration (1906). Alabama: railroad commission (1907).

Elective offices made appointive. California: state printer (1907).

Newly created elective offices.[2] Alabama: lieutenant governor, commissioner of agriculture and industry (1901), state fish and game commissioner (1907). Vermont: attorney-general (1905). Mississippi: insurance commissioner (1902), commissioner of agriculture, statistics and immigration (1906). Texas: commissioner of agriculture (1907). Louisiana: state board of equalization (1906). Nebraska: railroad commission (1906). Colorado, Montana and Oregon: railroad commissions (1907). Maine: state auditor (1907).

Newly created appointive offices.[2] California, Nevada, South Dakota:

[1] Digest of Governors' Messages, 1903, New York State Library Bulletin, p. 29.

[2] In some cases, transformations of older offices.

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state engineers (1907). Maryland: state auditor (1902). Nevada: state auditor (1907). Indiana, Washington, Wisconsin and Ohio: state railroad and public-service commissions (1905–06). Michigan, Nevada, New Jersey, New York, Pennsylvania and Vermont: state railroad and public-service commissions (1907).

Increase of terms. Alabama: all executive offices from two to four years (1901).

Decrease of terms. None.

A survey of this table shows that the movement towards a transformation of appointive into elective offices is confined to the southern and western states, where the machine processes of modern life and their institutional results are not so fully developed as in the northern and eastern states. In the South or West are also to be found the greater number (all but two) of the newly created elective offices, while the most important new appointive offices, the public-service commissions, have been established in the middle and eastern states.[1] There is happily no tendency to reduce the terms of state officers in order to secure a more frequent recurrence to popular elections—a policy once so solemnly championed by the exponent of theoretical democracy. Indeed the tendency is quite in the other direction[2]; and this of course has a decided effect in simplifying the ballot, especially for local elections and elections to the legislature. On the whole, however, it must be admitted that the American people retains its original confidence in the power of the ballot to do any kind and amount of political work; and our elections continue to be the same farces in which the sovereign voters ratify the blanket tickets prepared for them by the political experts.

The glaring absurdity of this system can best be illustrated by concrete examples, which bring home the details of the voters' task. I have before me the ballot for the thirteenth and thirty-fourth wards of the sixth congressional district of Chicago

[1] During the fifteen years preceding 1905 there was a decided tendency toward elective public-service commissions. See F. H. Dixon, "Railroad Commission Legislation," POLITICAL SCIENCE QUARLERLY, vol. xx, pp. 613 *et seq.*

[2] Dealey, Our State Constitutions, p. 33.

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in 1906.[1] It is two feet and two inches by eighteen and one-half inches; and it contains 334 names distributed with more or less evenness as candidates for the following offices:

State treasurer, state superintendent of public instruction, trustees of the University of Illinois, representatives in Congress, state senator, representatives in the state Assembly, sheriff, county treasurer, county clerk, clerk of the probate court, clerk of the criminal court, clerk of the circuit court, county superintendent of schools, judge of the county court, judge of the probate court, members of the board of assessors, member of the board of review, president of the board of county commissioners, county commissioners (ten to be elected on general ticket), trustees of the sanitary district of Chicago (three to be elected), clerk of the municipal court, bailiff of the municipal court, chief justice of the municipal court, judges of the municipal court (nine to be elected), judges of the municipal court for the four year term (nine to be elected), judges of the municipal court for the two year term (nine to be elected).

In Sioux City, Iowa, the following nine elections were held in 1908:

January 21. Special election on the commission plan of government.

February 24. City primary. Regular biennial election. Candidates nominated for eighteen city offices.

March 9. School election. Regular annual. Two directors and a school treasurer elected. A tax proposition to appropriate $60,000 for a school-house fund also voted on.

March 30. City election. Regular biennial. Eight officers and a council of ten elected, each voter voting for eleven candidates.

May 28. Special election on traction franchise. Franchise defeated.

June 2. Regular biennial election. Candidates nominated for twenty-eight different national, state and local offices.

August 11. Second special election on traction franchise.

November 3. General election. Regular. Forty-three officials voted for, including thirteen presidential electors, twelve state officers, one congressman, one state senator, two state representatives, nine county and five township officers. Amendment to state constitution also voted on.

November 17. Special election on the Perry Creek and the Bacon Creek conduit and the gas franchise.[2]

[1] Kindly furnished to the writer by Professor J. W. Garner of the University of Illinois.

[2] Digested from an excellent statement by F. H. Garver in the *Political Science Review*, August, 1909.

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Surely the people of the United States believe, with the inhabitants of Lilliput, "that the common size of human understandings is fitted to some station or other, and that Providence never intended to make the management of public affairs a mystery."

It is not only the elections that bother us. The primaries, whether under the convention or direct nomination systems, are, if possible, more complicated; and, as everybody knows, whoever controls the primaries controls the strategic point in our whole election system. If all of the voters, moved by the appeals of the good government people and stung by the taunts of the bosses, were to appear at the primaries of their parties, they would not be able to change the actual operation of the nomination system; for the preliminary work of the nominations, owing to the intricacies of the process, must be done by the experts—a fact too often overlooked by those who advocate direct nominations as a cure for boss rule. Within the cycle of four years, every party voter in every election district in New York City, with minor variations, must vote from one to four times for the following party candidates:

(1) Members of the city committee; (2) members of the county committee; (3) members of the assembly district committee; (4) delegates to an aldermanic district convention; (5) delegates to a municipal court district convention; (6) delegates to a borough convention; (7) delegates to a city convention; (8) delegates to a county convention; (9) delegates to a judicial district convention; (10) delegates to an assembly district convention; (11) delegates to a senatorial district convention; (12) delegates to a congressional district convention; (13) delegates to an assembly district convention.[1]

The best way to demonstrate the colossal task set before the bewildered New York voter is to describe an actual primary ballot—the Democratic ballot for the thirty-second assembly district.[2] It is eight and one-half inches by two feet four

[1] Governor Hughes' Plan of Direct Primaries, prepared by the Direct Primaries Association of New York (31 Nassau Street, New York City).

[2] See accompanying facsimile, reduced to somewhat less than one-fourth of the dimensions of the original.

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Volume XXIV, pages 600, 601

A MUNICIPAL BALLOT

STUB

To Be Torn Off by the Chairman.

STUB

To Be Torn Off by the First Clerk.

Official Ballot for Precinct No. 21, City of Portland, Oregon, at the General Municipal Election to be held June 7, 1909

Mark Cross (X) Between the Number and Name of Each Candidate and Amendment or Act Voted For

For Mayor — Vote for One

12	H. B. ALBEE	Independent; Anti-Machine
13	DANIEL KELLAHER	Independent of Machine
14	T. S. McDANIEL	Prohibition
15	M. G. MUNLY	Democratic
16	W. NOFTKE	Socialist
17	JOSEPH SIMON	Republican

For Auditor — Vote for One

18	A. L. BABBUR	Republican
19	E. G. EATON	Prohibition
20	G. W. LICHTENTHALER	Socialist

For Treasurer — Vote for One

21	E. P. NORTHRUP	Prohibition
22	J. E. WERLEIN	Republican
23	HERBERT WILSON	Socialist

For City Attorney — Vote for One

24	C. W. DeGEAFF	Prohibition
25	J. P. KAVANAUGH	Republican
26	ALLAN McDONALD	Socialist

For Municipal Judge — Vote for One

27	FRANK S. BENNETT	Republican
28	E. J. LEWIS	Socialist
29	M. B. MEACHAM	Prohibition

For Councilman at Large — Vote for Two

30	THOS. C. DEVLIN	Republican
31	GAY LOMBARD	Republican
32	D. CHAMBERS	Democratic
33	E. T. JOHNSON	Prohibition
34	J. P. NEWELL	Prohibition
35	CHRIST MILLER	Socialist
36	THOMAS A. SLADDEN	Socialist

Amendments to the Charter of the City of Portland

An act to amend and generally revise the City Charter submitted by a committee of fifteen citizens, vesting all legislative power in a Mayor and Council of six members, distributing all executive business among six bureaus with one Councilman at the head of each bureau, abolishing political parties in municipal elections, fixing the salaries of all elective officers, amending the provisions of the Charter relating to local improvements and assessments, and to the grant and regulation of franchises and other provisions.

Shall the Charter of the City of Portland, as amended, be amended as proposed?

100 YES.

101 NO.

Alternative amendments to Section 227 of the City Charter, as amended, one of which shall be adopted in case the foregoing amendments be adopted, providing, first, that the cost of all water mains be paid by assessment upon the property benefited thereby, or second, by payment out of the water fund.

First—Shall Section 227 be amended to provide that the cost of water mains be paid by the property benefited?

102 YES.

103 NO.

Second—Shall said section be amended to provide for the payment of the cost of said mains out of the water fund?

104 YES.

105 NO.

An act to amend Section 57 of the Charter of the City of Portland, providing that city official advertising shall be let only to a daily newspaper in the City of Portland, which shall have been published continuously for the period of one year next prior to the date of the bid.

Shall Section 57 of the Charter of the City of Portland be amended?

106 YES.

107 NO.

An act to amend Subdivisions 28, 34 and 45 of Section 73 of the Charter of the City of Portland, authorizing the Council to regulate electric wiring; to create the office and define the duties of Electrical Inspector; to create the office and defining the duties of Purchasing Agent, and to adopt and enforce the use of life-saving devices for the protection of human life.

Shall Subdivisions 28, 34 and 45 of Section 73 of the Charter of the City of Portland be amended?

108 YES.

109 NO.

An act to amend Section 99 of the Charter of the City of Portland, requiring holders of franchises granted under former Charters of said city to keep certain books of account and file reports with the Auditor of the City of Portland.

Shall Section 99 of the Charter of the City of Portland be amended?

110 YES.

111 NO.

An act to amend Section 180 of the Charter of the City of Portland, providing for a women's auxiliary to the Police Department of said city.

Shall Section 180 of the Charter of the City of Portland be amended?

112 YES.

113 NO.

An act to amend Section 292 of the Charter of the City of Portland, providing that the City Treasurer, upon the direction of the Council, may purchase bonded warrants of said city with money from any idle fund and hold such bonded warrants as cash.

Shall Section 292 of the Charter of the City of Portland be amended?

114 YES.

115 NO.

An act to amend Section 293 of the Charter of the City of Portland, as amended, authorizing any bank in the City of Portland with a paid-up capital stock of $50,000.00 to file an application for the deposit of a portion of the city funds; prohibiting standing funds from being deposited on time certificates of deposit; authorizing the receipt of Port of Portland bonds or School District No. 1, Oregon, bonds, as security for such deposit.

Shall Section 293 of the Charter of the City of Portland, as amended, be amended?

116 YES.

117 NO.

An act to amend the Charter of the City of Portland by inserting therein a new section, to be known as Section 293a of said Charter authorizing the Treasurer, upon the approval of the Council and under certain conditions, to deposit surplus funds in banks upon open account, upon receiving from such banks indemnity bonds issued by surety companies authorized to do business in the State of Oregon, in one and one-half times the amount so deposited.

Shall the Charter of the City of Portland be amended by inserting Section 293a?

118 YES.

119 NO.

An act to amend Section 306 of the Charter of the City of Portland by excluding from the operation of the civil service regulations the Chief Deputy City Engineer, the Building Inspector and the Purchasing Agent.

Shall Section 306 of the Charter of the City of Portland be amended?

120 YES.

121 NO.

An act to amend Section 317 of the Charter of the City of Portland, providing that any employe in the classified Civil Service may be discharged for cause, other than for political or religious reasons, or where the discharge was not made in good faith for the purpose of improving the public service, and that in case of discharge the burden of proof shall be upon the discharged employe.

Shall Section 317 of the Charter of the City of Portland be amended?

122 YES.

123 NO.

An act to amend Section 331 of the Charter of the City of Portland, as amended, authorizing the Municipal Judge to appoint one deputy clerk of the Municipal Court at a salary not to exceed $100.00 per month.

Shall Section 331 of the Charter of the City of Portland, as amended, be amended?

124 YES.

125 NO.

An act to amend Section 349 of the Charter of the City of Portland, providing that the Auditor shall act as clerk of the viewers and prepare their reports in all proceedings for the establishment, laying out, opening, widening or change of any street.

Shall Section 349 of the Charter of the City of Portland be amended?

126 YES.

127 NO.

An act to amend Section 358 of the Charter of the City of Portland, requiring the Auditor to withhold the delivery of any warrant for damages on account of the opening or widening of a street until the person in whose favor the warrant is drawn shall exhibit proof that there are no prior liens on the land appropriated.

Shall Section 358 of the Charter of the City of Portland be amended?

128 YES.

129 NO.

An act to amend Section 364 of the Charter of the City of Portland, providing that when streets or public places are vacated for the purpose of rededication, the petitioners shall first present assurances of rededication.

Shall Section 364 of the Charter of the City of Portland be amended?

130 YES.

131 NO.

An act to amend Section 378 of the Charter of the City of Portland, providing that when the Council shall provide for making a street improvement the city shall be deemed to have appropriated the earth above grade and within the street lines for said improvement.

Shall Section 378 of the Charter of the City of Portland be amended?

132 YES.

133 NO.

An act to amend the Charter of the City of Portland by inserting therein a new section to be known as Section 383a, providing for the bonding of assessments for the improvement of streets and for the laying of sewers.

Shall Section 383a be inserted in the Charter of the City of Portland?

134 YES.

135 NO.

An act to amend Section 407 of the Charter of the City of Portland, providing that the rate of interest to be charged on delinquent special assessments from the legal rate to the rate of ten per cent per annum.

Shall Section 407 of the Charter of the City of Portland be amended?

136 YES.

137 NO.

An act to amend Section 421 of the Charter of the City of Portland, providing that the acceptance by the City of any local improvement to be conclusive evidence that the same is done according to plans, specifications and ordinances of the City; that warrants issued in payment for such work shall be valid obligations of the City, and that the statute of limitations shall not apply to such warrants or to any special assessments levied by said City.

Shall Section 421 of the Charter of the City of Portland be amended?

138 YES.

139 NO.

An act to abolish the Water Board, Park Board and Health Board by consolidating the same with the Executive Board; to make the principal and interest of unissued three million dollars water bonds and the cost of laying water mains payable out of the Water Fund instead of by general or local assessment; by amending Section 166 of the Charter and Articles IV, V and VII of Chapter IV of the Charter.

Shall the Charter be so amended?

140 YES.

141 NO.

An amendment to Section 227 of the Charter of the City of Portland, as amended, authorizing the issuance of municipal bonds to provide for the construction of general distribution water mains ten inches in size, or over.

Shall Section 227 of the Charter of the City of Portland, as amended, be amended by authorizing the Council to issue bonds for distribution mains ten inches, or over, in size?

142 YES.

143 NO.

An act to amend Section 303 of the Charter of the City of Portland, providing that the salary of the City Engineer shall be fixed by the Council upon the recommendation of the Executive Board and shall be not less than twenty-four hundred dollars per annum.

Shall Section 303 of the Charter of the City of Portland be amended?

144 YES.

145 NO.

An act to amend Section 289 of the Charter of the City of Portland, providing that the salary of the Treasurer of the City of Portland shall be fixed by the Council and shall not be less than twenty-four hundred dollars per annum.

Shall Section 289 of the Charter of the City of Portland be amended?

146 YES.

147 NO.

An act to amend Section 340 of the Charter of the City of Portland, providing that the salary of the City Attorney shall be fixed by the Council and shall not be less than twenty-four hundred dollars per annum.

Shall Section 340 of the Charter of the City of Portland be amended?

148 YES.

149 NO.

One-hundred and fifty thousand dollars of Crematory Bonds to be authorized for the acquisition, installation, improvement and repair of the incinerating plants, and their necessary accessories, for the destruction of garbage in the City of Portland, by an amendment to Article VIII, Chapter VII, of the Charter of the City of Portland, by inserting therein a new section to be known as Section 425½.

Shall Article VIII, Chapter VII, of the Charter of the City of Portland be amended by inserting Section 425½?

150 YES.

151 NO.

Two million dollars Bridge Bonds to be authorized to construct a high bridge across Willamette River, from Broadway and Eastbank Streets on the east side, following the line of Broadway street extended westerly in its present course to a point at or near its intersection with Seventh street on the west side, by an amendment to Article VI, Chapter III, of the Charter of the City of Portland, by inserting therein a new section to be known as Section 118½.

Shall Article VI, Chapter III, of the Charter of the City of Portland be amended by inserting Section 118½?

152 YES.

153 NO.

An ordinance providing for the regulation, placing, erection, use and maintenance of electric poles, wires, cables and appliances in the City of Portland, and providing a penalty for violation of the provisions thereof.

Shall said ordinance pass?

154 YES.

155 NO.

$450,000.00 of Bridge Bonds to be authorized for the construction of a high bridge across the Willamette River from Front and Market streets on the west to East Second and East Market streets on the east; for transferring the Hawthorne Avenue Bridge Fund to the Market Street Bridge Fund, and discontinuing the proceedings for the construction of the Hawthorne Avenue Bridge, by an amendment to the Charter of the City of Portland by inserting a new section to be known as Section 428.

Shall the Charter of the City of Portland be amended by inserting Section 428?

156 YES.

157 NO.

$1,500,000.00 of Bridge Bonds to be authorized for the construction of a high bridge across the Willamette River from First and Sherman streets on the west to East Sherman and East Seventh streets on the east, by an amendment to Article VI, Chapter III, of the Charter of the City of Portland by inserting a section therein to be known as Section One Hundred Eighteen and two-thirds.

Shall Article VI, Chapter III, of the Charter of the City of Portland be amended?

158 YES.

159 NO.

Amendment to Article IV, Chapter VI, of the Charter of the City of Portland prohibiting the use of any patented article or any article or process protected by a trade mark, or any article or process wholly controlled by any person, firm or corporation, or any combination thereof, in the improvement of any street, highway or public place in the City of Portland.

Shall Article IV, Chapter VI, of the Charter of the City of Portland be amended?

160 YES.

161 NO.

Amendment to Chapter III of the City Charter, granting to the Gothenberg Association, a corporation, exclusive privilege to sell intoxicating liquors at retail for a term of five years; fixing the annual compensation to the city for such privilege, limiting the number of places and defining the districts where liquors may be sold; regulating such places of sale and providing a penalty for failure to exercise diligence and good faith in complying with the provisions of the act.

Shall Chapter III of the Charter of the City of Portland be amended?

162 YES.

163 NO.

An act to amend the City Charter by inserting a new section known as Section 74a, creating an Excise Board consisting of the Mayor and four members appointed by him; authorizing said board to license and control the liquor traffic; providing license fees for the sale of liquors; confining the sale by retail to saloons; regulating the conduct of places where liquor is sold or served; providing how such saloons shall be furnished, and persons to whom liquor cannot be sold, and excluding women from saloons.

Shall the Charter of the City of Portland be amended?

164 YES.

165 NO.

$2,000,000.00 of Light and Power Bonds to be authorized for the purpose of acquiring a plant and property for furnishing light and power to the City of Portland and its inhabitants, and creating and defining the duties of a Commission to supervise and direct the acquisition and operation of said plant and property by an act amendatory to the Charter of the City of Portland.

Shall the above act pass?

166 YES.

167 NO.

REFERENDUM

An ordinance providing that the owner or keeper of any stage coach, coupe, hack, carriage, dray, truck, cart, wagon, automobile or other vehicle (except vehicles used for pleasure only), which shall be used for the conveyance or transportation of persons, packages, goods, wares, merchandise or any other kind of material in the City of Portland, shall pay an annual license fee; fixing the amount of such license fee, and repealing Ordinance No. 13138, entitled, "An Ordinance to license vehicles."

Shall the above ordinance pass?

168 YES.

169 NO.

A PRIMARY BALLOT

NEW YORK COUNTY.

THE DEMOCRATIC PARTY,

THIRTY-SECOND ASSEMBLY DISTRICT,

FOR MEMBERS OF THE DEMOCRATIC COUNTY GENERAL COMMITTEE

ROGER W. BLIGH

Wm. Henderson, Jr	John Ziegler	John A. P. Gloss	Peter Burgson	Ernest Sulzer
James Helion	Al. Johannemeyer	James Keegan	Fred Harbs	John F. Kelly
Lawrence J. Fagan	Frank J. Simpson	Harry C. Keegan	Joseph Daly	Otto H. Bach
Chris. C. Keenan	August N. Johnson	Henry Bruning	Francis L. Donnelly	John H. Boyle
Wm. H. D. North	Herbert Duffy	Wm. H. Fishbough	Joseph Donnelly	John Cary
Wm. A. Stein	Frank J. Kelly	Hugh Thompson	Bernhard Donnelly	John English
Augustus Baus	John Wohn	Ambrose N. Norris	Owen Degnan	Cornelius O'Leary
Joseph E. Smith	John H. Gross	Walter Norris	Joseph Eppensberger	Frank Murphy
Henry F. Helntenstein	Eugene J. Leonard	William J. McAndrews	Peter J. Engelhardt	John J. Mulhern
Mortimer Tubridy	John F. W. Voigt	Michael McKay	Jacob Eckhoff	Hugh McLaughlin
James A. Ferris	George Hopp	Daniel Haggerty	Arthur J. Pettit	William S. Norman
James McConnell	Peter G. Byrne	John J. Whelan	James E. Smith	John Newell
Wm. J. Stapleton	Henry J. McKenna	Adolph C. Hoelling	James B. Kelly	George S. Budenbender
Wm. E. Gorlon	Robert Olmstead	Henry J. Buck	William A. Cokeley	Christopher Gilman
Wm. J. Phalen	James O'Connor	James McGuire	Peter J. Kelly	James J. Duffy
Wm. E. Keating	Michael O'Shea	John Smith	Joseph J. Bible	John H. Black
Cornelius Buckley	Hugh Lennon	William H. Stoutenburg	John Wesp	Daniel J. Dillon
George Holdsworth	Martin Dickeman	Charles Hart	John Duane	John Gill
Fred Kahn	Thomas Nolan	John Henshaw	George Hublitz	John Garvey
Wm. Theurer	James O'Connor, Jr.	Wm. Renz	John Murphy	James J. Jarvis
Isaac Levison	James Burkoven	John Goldmeit	Owen J. Clinton	Richard J. Berry
John F. Kiernan	Thomas E. Day	Henry Busch	John J. Crozier	Thomas J. Kellaher
Emil Herman	Henry Frederick	Benjamin McBride	Michael Walters	James Garvey
James A. Mulligan	William Geelan	David Schultz	William J. McCay	Thomas Kane
Daniel F. Peterson	Patrick Geelan	Edward G. Cashman	Stephen Cross	George H. Kingsley
Jacob Sturm	Thomas McKenna	Patrick Murphy	Vincent Ferris	Peter Tuckey
Wm. J. Meyers	John McCullough	Walter Kendall	John Magenson	Michael Ulton
James L. Devine	George Rae	I. Lichter	James E. Romer	James McMahon
John Lynch	George Liss	James McMahon	Walter J. Spelman	Thomas Hart
Michael Flynn	Samuel Poons	George Di-amon	Richard J. Barry	Frank McGrory
Howard Lewis	John Hines	Fred Plettner	Lewis Briggs	Richard O'Hara
Eugene Leonard	Eugene Willis	Martin Wermser	William Buhl	Andrew Angelora
Timothy Fitzgerald	George W. Ahern	Emanuel Meyer	Walter Charles	David H. Lane
Henry V. Rosenbaum	Matthew P. Breen	John J. Helion	George A. Devine	Walter M. Little
Patrick J. Foley	Harry J. Breen	Patrick Butler	Joseph Furst	John T. Brady
John Halfcey	M. E. Dillon	Henry Bütter	Harry T. Booth	Nicolo Billoti
Charles Meyer	Anthony Kemlinger	Nicola Demaso	Ernest Roeder	Otto Mollenhauer
Patrick J. Cullinan	Wm. J. Butler	Louis Grossman	A. Benjamin Martin	Patrick E. Healey
Thomas Watts	Edward Smith	Lewis J. Habermahl	Henry F. Mulvany	Patrick Mack
Herman Saltzsieder	William Dubler	John Larkin	James H. Booth	Joseph Polchinski
Gustav Buck	Anthony McOwen	Thomas O'Brien	John Samoni	Joseph Buehler
Henry Waldman	Hugh Duffy	Peter J. Ulrich	Alberto Ulmer	Peter Schweikert
Francis X. Kelly	Max Hartvigson	Arthur B. Marks	James Doyle	R. L. Starrett
William Kurtz	Charles K. Benjamin	Nicholas F. Leonard	James Brown	E. Newton Van Fleet
Joseph A. Mulligan	Joseph B. Richardson	George H. Wheatley	John Scharff	William J. Kelly
Frank J. Donovan	Wm. Beutler	Thomas Davies	William B. Phelan	Henry B. Boyle
Herman Roth, M.D.	John A. Armstrong	Michael Burns	John I. Smith	Frederick Crowley
Max Walther	Henry Bartels	George J. Lyons	Patrick H. McDonough	Antonio Papentonio
Joseph Burkheshach	John G. Everett	Patrick H. Lydon	Bernard McGuan	Charles Jones
Ernest Hug	Peter G. Handibode	Patrick Leonard	Patrick McDonald	Thomas F. Murphy
James Dowd	Patrick Landy	Michael Nefhis	Charles Broker	James M. Hackett
John J. Donovan, M.D.	John McKenna	William McDermett	William Cavanaugh	Albert Power
James Hynes, Sr.	Edward Brown	Lewis Wulderman	John L. Grennon	William J. Colby
James Hynes, Jr.	Fabian Fichter	Frank Diamond	Martin J. Moore	Patrick Cleary
Alexander Wyman	Wm. H. Wales	Wm. Eichlentfs	Patrick F. Toohey	John Davidson
Matthew H. Moore	John Tobin	Frederick Schneider	John Von Glahn	Peter Gillings, Jr.
Wm. A. Kearns	Arthur Angvall	James F. Brennan	Joseph Wagner	George Liebrock
Terrence McDonnell	Alexander Weiner	John J. Brennan	John J. Lutz	Samuel Quigley
Frank A. Levy	Frank Burguiero	Michael Nockler	George Dannenf-ser	John J. Slavin
Edward Pullen	Wm. Flagler	John H. Bergen	Thomas C. Cokeley	Frederick Trumpler
Christie Heinz	John J. New	Killan Klein	Alfred S. Moore	Andrew Braun
Harry T. Conklin	Adam Reng	Timothy Fitzmaurice	Kilner Newman	John Gerrard
Richard McDevitt	John McDermott	John H. McGrath	John D. Reynolds	Oscar Smith
Wm. Hanrahan	Wm. Weiner	Richard Sullivan	John Moore	John Molloy
John Dean	James Armstrong	Michael O'Boyle	Henry J. Volz	William Flood
James Whalen	Fred F. Benny	Patrick O'Boyle	Thomas F. McGuinness	Edward Holley
Thomas J. Tighe	John Metzger	William Marlin	John Kinsella	Charles E. Slaker
Samuel Gluck	John F. Metzger	Patrick Burns	James W. Deegan	Joseph Murray
Louis Dittmar	George C. Blauvelt	Joseph Kingston	Andrew Grossman	Benjamin Nelson
Marks Taylor	Gustave Otto	John J. Birmingham	Robert Kelly, Sr.	William Uland
George Katzenmeyer	James M. McGrath	Thomas Thompson	Christopher Keanhan	Augustus Lerch
Henry C. Wagner	William Mahoney	John Boyle	Charles Lehr	William T. Bates
Bernard Conklin	John Moran	Michael Barry	Theodore Gunon	James J. McGuire
James S. Flynn	Herman Harborg	H. F. Carman, M.D.	August G. Miller	Lewis E. Oxee
Joseph Gulfermain	George A. Suling	Daniel Bowe	Conrad Brown	William W. Penfield
Charles Emlaw	Henry Hegen	Thomas Coughlan	Nicholas J. O'Connell	Charles J. Rhinehardt
John Rathgeber	James Phalen	Thomas Conklin	Charles L. Bellner	George Kuhn
John Schmidt	John Phalen	Henry D. Chappell	George W. Smith	Eugene Hoffmann
William Schmidt	Wm. Cauldwell	F. H. Curtis	William H. Trow	Henry Wettje
Arnold Schmidt	John Bolden	Martin Carney	Edgar G. Gilbert	Joseph A. Garland
Thomas Dunn	John Daly	Edward Cassidy	William L. Cole	
Alexander Nealis	Neil J. Diamond	John J. Clair	Joseph Diamond	
R. Von Glahn	Robert C. Kraft	Hugh J. Lawlor	John Jackson	
Frank Silvernail	Claus Jensen	William Brown	George A. Silva	

FOR DELEGATES TO THE COUNTY CONVENTION

ROGER W. BLIGH

Wm. Henderson, Jr.	Lawrence Fagan	Herman Klein	Richard J. Barry	William Garvey
Wm. E Stein	Christopher C. Keenan	Montgomery Kesschan	Patrick McDonald	Joseph H. Murphy
Patrick Cullinan	Joseph E. Smith	James J. Lantz	John J. Lutz	Daniel J. Dwyer
Thomas Watts	Matthew P. Breen	Michael Lannon	James B. Kelly	Daniel J. McGrory
Howard Lewis	Harry J. Breen	Patrick McCaffrey	Owen J. Clinton	Peter A. Farrell
Frederick H. Moore	Frederick Plettner	John J. McAndrews	John Kinsella	Michael J. Lella
James Devine	John J. Helion	Thomas McGrath	Edward Gilbert	William Dee Miller
James Hynes	George J. Lyons	J. J. Moran	John F. Kelly	Charles W. Oakes
Wm. A. Kerns	John J. Scanlon	Henry Markham	James J. Duffy	Michael Brennan
James A. Mulligan	James F. Brennon	James A. Kilby	James McMahon	Frank Penner
John Lynch	John H. Bergen	John T. Maguire	Walter Little	Daniel Deegan
Timothy Fitzgerald	Augustus Baus	George W. Miller	William J. Kelly	Edward Corbett
W. H. D. North	Joseph Richardson	Fred H. Pickles	Albert Power	William Andrus
William Theurer	M. E. Dillon	Charles J. Heith, Jr.	John Gerrard	David Havens
Wm. Saunderson	George J. Hoblitz	Edward Robinson	Augustus Lerch	Patrick W. Diskin
Frank J. Kelly	Daniel J. Hicks	M. T. Healy	Harry T. Booth	Joseph Darby
Jacob Eckhoff	R. J. Hawthorn	James M. Reddin	Matthew Mulligan	Florence Sheehan
William Hanrahan	William Johnson	Rudolph Richard Ragette	Joseph Quigley	Charles F. Wills
James Whalen	Adolph Jacobson	George Rickinson	Clarence Ferdon	James Hynes, Jr.
James Ferris	Wm. M. Johnson	W. S. J. Stevens	Lewis Hirsch	
James Helion	Wm. J. Keogh	Ervin Smith	George A. Devine	

FOR DELEGATES TO THE FIRST DISTRICT MUNICIPAL COURT CONVENTION, BOROUGH OF BRONX

ROGER W. BLIGH

William Henderson, Jr.	John Crozier	Thomas Kelleher	Hugh McLoughlin
James E. Smith	Edward J. Clinton	James B. Kelly	Franklyn C. Hoyt
Harry T. Booth	John F. Kelly	James M. Hackett	Richard J. Berry
Ernest Roeder	John Garvey	James McMahon	William Buhl
Arthur J. Pettit	Peter J. Kelly	George Hublitz	John Samoni
William J. Kelly	John J. Lutz	Charles J. Northrop	Nicolo Billoti
William A. Cokeley	Joseph J. Quigley	Walter R. Burt	Otto Miller
Walter Little	A. Benjamin Martin	John Mulligan	Andrew Braun
Louis E. Oxee	William McCay	Thomas Hart	Oscar Smith
Richard F. Speckman	Cornelius O'Leary	William Pettit	Henry P. Mulvany

FOR DELEGATES TO THE SECOND DISTRICT MUNICIPAL COURT CONVENTION, BOROUGH OF BRONX

ROGER W. BLIGH

James Helion	William A. Kerns	Henry Rosenbaum	Terrence McDonnell
Francis X. Kelly	James A. Mulligan	Patrick Foley	William Theurer
Isaac Levison	Hugh Duffy	James Ferris	Patrick H. Lydon
Patrick Cullinan	William F. Kurtzs	Martin E. Dillon	James H. Brennan
Henry Lichtenstein	William E. Keating	John J. Helion	Anthony McOwen
William M. Saunderson	Edward Smith	Jacob Eckhoff	Joseph B. Richardson
Joseph Smith	Augustus Baus	John Halfcey	Arthur Angvall
Henry Waldman	Christopher C. Keenan	Thomas E. Day	William Hanrahan
Alexander Wyman	Lawrence J. Fagan	John J. Donovan, M.D.	Hugh Lennon
Herman Roth, M.D.	William Stein	James Hynes, Jr.	Frank J. Kelly
Charles K. Benjamin	W. D. H. North	James Hynes	Thomas McKenna
H. F. Carman, M.D.	Timothy Fitzgerald	Matthew Moore	Gustav Buck
Elkan Kahn	Daniel F. Peterson	Frank A. Levy	Joseph Bielliesbach
John Lynch	William J. Stapleton	William A. Myers	Michael Flynn
James Devine	John Wesp	Frank J. Donovan	Herman Saltzsieder
Thomas Watts	Howard Lewis	Max Walther	Herman Treptow

FOR DELEGATES TO THE THIRTY-SECOND ASSEMBLY DISTRICT CONVENTION

ROGER W. BLIGH

William Henderson, Jr.	James Armstrong	Samuel Gluck	Christopher J. Kenahan
James Helion	George Schrader	Louis Dittmar	Michael J. Cooney
Francis X. Kelly	John Larkin	Marks Taylor	Nicholas J. O'Connell
William E. Kerns	Patrick Murphy	Alexander Nealis	George Buddenhelmer
Patrick Cullinan	James Phalen	R. Von Glann	Thomas F. Delehanty, Jr.
Robert Olmstead	William Theurer	John Ziegler	James E. Pettit
Joseph Smith	John F. Kiernan	William Schmidt	Edward Dougherty
Edward G. Cashman	Daniel Peterson	Al. Johannemeyer	Robert Swiff
Matthew Moore	Christopher C. Keenan	Frank J. Simpson	Bernard C. Gallagher
James Devine	Timothy Fitzgerald	August N. Johnson	Walter J. Little
Adolph Hoelling	Eugene O'Sullivan	Henry Roth, M.D.	Henry B. Boyle
Charles Emlaw	H. F. Carman, M.D.	Arthur J. Pettit	Frank McGarry
Walter Kendall	Jacob Eckhoff	William J. Kelly	James McMahon
William Stapleton	Charles Myers	Richard J. Barry	John Gerrard
Francis L. Donnelly	Thomas Conklin	William Buhl	Augustus Lerch
James Hynes, Jr.	Edward Brown	Walter Charles	Oscar Smith
Howard Lewis	John J. Clair	Patrick McDonald	John Malloy
John H. Gross	Lawrence Fagan	Patrick Toohey	Louis E. Oxee
George Hopp	William E. Stein	John J. Lutz	Harry Westfield
William Geelan	Peter G. Handibode	George Dannenfelser	James J. McGuire
George W. Ahern	Gustave Otto	John D. Reynolds	Henry Wettje
Eugene Willis	John Phalen	Thomas C. Cokeley	Edward W. Grimes
Daniel Bowe	William Fishbough	Louis Hirsch	Philip A. Moore
Patrick Landy	Ambrose N. Norris	James B. Kelly	Joseph Wagner
James Hughes	John Dean	Owen J. Clinton	James E. Noonan
Robert C. Kraft	Thomas J. Tighe	Daniel F. McGrory	

FOR DELEGATES TO THE THIRTY-FOURTH ALDERMANIC DISTRICT CONVENTION

ROGER W. BLIGH

Christopher C. Keenan	James Devine	Alexander Wyman	Anthony McOwen
Joseph Smith	James A. Mulligan	John Tobin	John J. Schlemmer
James Helion	Daniel Peterson	Hugh Duffy	Patrick Murphy
Patrick Cullinan	John A. Kiernan	Edward Smith	Henry Brunning
Francis X. Kelly	William E. Keating	John Hynes	Charles E. Benjamin
William A. Kerns	M. E. Dillon	John Franklin	William Kortze
James Ferris	Augustus Baus	Harry Force	Matthew H. Moore
Thomas Watts	Thomas Hughes	Thomas Hughes	William Boetler
John Lynch	Henry Bütter	John Halfcey	Henry Rosenbaum
Howard Lewis	William E. Stoutenberg	Patrick Foley	William J. Myers
Frank A. Levy	Michael Flynn	Henry Waldman	Isaac Levison
Owen Moran	Henry Lichtenstein	James Hughes	James McConnell
Frederick Plettner	Max Walther	Thomas E. Day	William E. Gorton
Conrad Treptow	William A. Bohler	Michael Hanrahan	Mortimer Tubridy
Lawrence Fagan	Geo. J. Wolf	Henry Hockster	Cornelius Buckley
John Moore	John Moran	Elkan Kahn	Jacob Sturm

FOR DELEGATES TO THE THIRTY-FIFTH ALDERMANIC DISTRICT CONVENTION

William J. Kelly	James McMahon	Oscar Smith	Charles Jones
Walter J. Little	Louis E. Oxee	John Molloy	Philip Moore
James McHackett	Patrick Cleary	Andrew Braun	
Nicolo Billoti	Augustus Lerch	Edward Holley	

FOR DELEGATES TO THE THIRTY-SIXTH ALDERMANIC DISTRICT CONVENTION

William Henderson, Jr.	William Buhl	Cornelius O'Leary	Philip Charles
Arthur J. Pettit	Ernest Roeder	James Garvey	John Crozier
Peter J. Kelly	Richard F. Speckman	James E. Smith	James F. Kelly
Joseph J. Quigley	William McCay	Thomas Kelleher	Thomas Hassett
Harry T. Booth	John J. Lutz	Edward Gilbert	Joseph Rothfelder
Owen J. Clinton	Patrick J. McDonald	James J. Duffy	
Joseph J. Bible	John F. Kelly	Richard J. Barry	

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inches. It contains the names of 835 candidates: 417 for members of the county general committee, 104 for delegates to the county convention, 40 for delegates to the first district municipal court convention, 65 for delegates to the second district municipal court convention, 104 for delegates to the thirty-second assembly district convention and 105 for delegates to the thirty-fourth, thirty-fifth and thirty-sixth aldermanic district conventions. In this ticket the hand of the expert is obvious. It is a slate which the voter "plumps" for one man, the assembly district leader, who does the rest. The 834 other names are entirely useless for political purposes; although the individuals who bear them may have their pride gratified, and the organization may derive a levy from each. Very undemocratic, but thoroughly typical, is the fact that the name of the one man who really counts is set in larger "display" type.

It is not merely capacity to discriminate between a few hundred candidates that we expect from our sovereign voter; he must now do our legislation for us, down to the minutest detail. An excellent example of this relatively new burden is afforded by the blanket ballot submitted to the voters of the city of Portland, Oregon, at the general municipal election held June 7, 1909.[1] In addition to the modest number of twenty-five names of candidates for the respective offices of mayor, auditor, treasurer, city attorney, municipal judge and councilman at large, there are thirty-five separate legislative propositions on which the elector must vote "yes" or "no." Some of these are important, and their submission is entirely proper, such as the proposition to establish a commission form of government and to make large bond issues for specific purposes. It is difficult, however, to see why the whole electorate should be asked to ponder and determine whether the municipal judge may appoint a clerk at a salary of not less than $100 per month, whether a woman's auxiliary shall be established in connection with the police department, whether the council may fix the salary of the city engineer at not less than $2400 per annum, and whether the rate of interest on special-assessment

[1] See accompanying facsimile, reduced to one-fourth of the size of the original.

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arrears shall be raised to ten per cent. In view of the serious task imposed on the voters of the city of Portland by this ballot, the interest shown in the election and the results attained are most creditable: they show a high degree of intelligence and capacity. Nevertheless, the burden was too great; and it is authoritatively stated that there is now on foot a movement to restrict the number of referenda, amendments and other propositions that may be submitted at any one time to a maximum of twelve.

Before undertaking a criticism of this system, let us examine the theory which underlies it. This is simple enough. A number of men are candidates for a public office. Each of these candidates entertains certain notions of policy with regard to the office he is seeking, and each of them has his own standards of efficiency and integrity. The voters select the one who most accurately reflects the prevailing public sentiment and seems most likely to realize the dominant public desire. If he does not carry out the policy which he is expected to support or fails to come up to the standards set by his constituents, he is turned out at the expiration of his term (which ought theoretically to be a short one in order to give the people a chance to express their judgment on the officer with great frequency), and some one who more nearly represents the electorate is chosen in his stead. Thus in the long run representative democracy triumphs. To question the essential soundness of this view is petty treason, and the doubter is met with the firm assertion that the people may be trusted to elect any officer, state or national—an assertion which quite overlooks the fundamental fact that electing *all* of them together is an entirely different matter from electing *any one* of them.

The simple truth is that the above theory does not work in practice. In the case of a large number of officers there is no question of policy involved, because their functions are purely ministerial, prescribed by statutes, and their discharge of these functions is enforceable through the ordinary processes of law. No one has been able to discover up to this time why we should select a Republican state treasurer to serve with a Socialist state

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veterinarian; and it is because the results of state elections, so far as most of the offices are concerned, are of slight importance to any body except the political experts, that the public is largely indifferent to the qualifications of the minor candidates. The real failure of the democratic theory, however, is due to the fact that it is absolutely impossible for any considerable number of voters to exercise any discrimination among candidates for a large number of offices. It is a matter of common knowledge that in almost every state election the only candidates who are seriously discussed in the press—in other words, the only candidates upon whose qualifications and record any light is thrown—are those seeking the office of governor and, in the case of municipal elections, that of mayor. The candidates for the minor state offices and, what is infinitely more important, the candidates for the city council and the legislature, are generally left in the same fog which envelops the candidates for the position of coroner or clerk of the municipal district court. There are of course exceptions to this rule, but it applies quite generally throughout the United States.

It is simply absurd to expect the voters to apply any standards of discrimination to more than three or four groups of candidates. This is the testimony of many practical publicists. Mr. Low, in an address at Cornell University in 1887, said:

> However possible it may be, as a matter of theory, for every citizen upon election day to cast a ballot with reference to any number of officials based upon discriminating knowledge of the duties of each candidate, as a matter of fact it is not possible for the citizen, whose time is largely engrossed in his private affairs, to obtain the detailed knowledge necessary for such an act.

The case has been put strongly also by Mr. Clark:

> So ignorant are the mass of us, actually and of necessity, about the special qualifications of the several men we vote for, that if the names on the ticket were shifted round, so that the candidate for Congress were running for state engineer, the superintendent of education for coroner and the sheriff for judge, it would be all the same to us in nine cases out of ten.[1]

[1] C. C. P. Clark, The Machine Abolished, p. 86.

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President Woodrow Wilson has described the situation with characteristic felicity of phrase:

In the little borough of Princeton, where I live, I vote a ticket of some thirty names, I suppose. I never counted them, but there must be quite that number. Now I am a slightly busy person, and I have never known anything about half the men I was voting for on the tickets that I voted. I attend diligently, so far as I have light, to my political duties in the borough of Princeton—and yet I have no personal knowledge of one-half of the persons I am voting for. I couldn't tell you even what business they are engaged in—and to say in such circumstances that I am taking part in the government of the borough of Princeton is an absurdity. I am not taking part in it at all. I am going through the motions that I am expected to go through by the persons who think that attending primaries and voting at the polls is performing your whole political duty. It is doing a respectable thing that I am not ashamed of, but it is not performing any political duty that is of any consequence. I don't count for any more in the government of the borough of Princeton than the veriest loafer and drunkard in the borough, and I do not know very much more about the men I am voting for than he does. He is busy about one thing and I am busy about others. We are preoccupied, and cannot attend to the government of the town.[1]

It is hardly necessary to adduce further testimony to facts which are notorious; but the facts are too important to be slurred over because they are familiar. It is interesting to note that in Massachusetts, where the form of the ballot requires the voter to select each candidate instead of voting the straight ticket by a single mark, it is uniformly the case that the candidates for the minor offices poll considerably less than the total number cast for the candidates for the higher offices, and this notwithstanding the very explicit information furnished the voters by the experts of all party organizations. For example:

[1] Civic Problems. An address delivered March 9, 1909, at the Annual Meeting of the Civic League of St. Louis. For additional literature on the subject see Gamaliel Bradford, The Lesson of Popular Government, vol. ii, pp. 417, 456, 467; Charles F. Dole, The Spirit of Democracy; Albert Stickney, Democratic Government, A True Republic and the Political Problem; C. C. P. Clark, The Machine Abolished; L. S. Rowe, Problems of City Government, pp. 52, 174, 181, 201; Goodnow, Politics and Administration; R. S. Childs, "The Short Ballot," *Outlook*, July 17, 1909.

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in 1908, the total vote for governor was 442,544, while that for auditor was 393,010 or 88.8 per cent. In 1905, candidates for auditor polled 92.1 per cent of the total vote cast for governor; and, in the preceding election, 87.4 per cent. Similar tendencies are to be observed in other states where the Massachusetts ballot is in use. This result has been used as an argument against that form of ballot: it is contended that it leads the voter to get tired of marking and to stop from sheer fatigue. It is shown, however, by a more careful analysis of election results extending over a series of years, that while the vote falls for the minor state officers it rises again for candidates for state senator, at least where the result is not a foregone conclusion.[1]

An informing and perhaps somewhat typical census of political interest on the part of voters is printed by Mr. Childs in the article mentioned above. An inquiry among the voters of one of the most independent assembly districts in Brooklyn resulted in the following revelations:

Do you know the name of the new state treasurer just elected? *Yes:* 13 per cent.

Do you know the name of the present state treasurer? *Yes:* 25 per cent.

Do you know the name of the new state assemblyman for this district? *Yes:* 30 per cent.

Do you know the name of the defeated candidate for assemblyman in this district? *Yes:* 20 per cent. (*Knew both of above:* 16 per cent.)

Do you know the name of the surrogate of this county? *Yes:* 35 per cent.

Do you know the name of your alderman? *Yes:* 15 per cent.

Do you know whether your alderman was one of those who voted against the increase in the police force last year? *Yes:* 2 per cent.

Nominations, however, must be made and the offices must be filled. Somebody must discover when each officer's term expires and see to it that the names of the candidates are on the ballot in due form, in accordance with the provisions of the

[1] See articles by Richard H. Dana, in *Annals of the American Academy of Political Science*, vol. ii, p. 745, and in Atlantic City Conference for Good City Government, 1906, p. 355.

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election law, which usually equals in bulk and complexity a moderately comprehensive treatise on the British constitution. Here is a large, important and possibly lucrative function to be discharged; and since the "sovereign" voters have failed, as they could not but fail, to discharge it intelligently and efficiently, the politicians have taken the matter into their hands. The result has been the creation of a structure to correspond with the function—the peculiarly American party organization as an office-filling and spoils-sharing device.

This system has not only paralyzed the ballot, but it has also perverted the political party from its true function, which is to reflect and formulate the policy of the various cohering groups within each political area. The political party in the United States, whatever may have been its historic rôle, has become a standing army of regulars, doing the work which the electorate is supposed to do and in too many cases reaping the advantages which should accrue to the public. The party is an office-filling machine, dealing in the salaries of offices and the privileges which they confer; and it is the democratic system of popular election, intended to establish the rule of the people and commonly supposed to realize this intention, which in fact prevents the people from ruling steadily and effectively.

It is the opaque, persistent, adamantine party organization which has been the bane of our political life. Many of the best men are wholly excluded from the state legislatures and from minor offices because of the necessity of coming to terms with the standing army of experts. Many otherwise efficient and independent men are compelled to use their offices to advance the interests of the organization which nominated and elected them. Those private interests which have corrupted our politics have worked through the extra-legal organizations rather than through the officials chosen by the voters. It is needless, however, to dwell further on a thesis which has been conclusively established.[1]

General recognition of the fact that our political machinery has fallen into the hands of groups of experts, and that the

[1] See Goodnow, Politics and Administration.

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ballot at the regular elections is only a ratification of the "slates" made by the experts and not the expression of the will of the voters, has been followed by general resentment, and by the demand that means be found for expressing and enforcing the general will. In answer to this demand has come the great wave of "direct nomination" and "direct government" legislation which is sweeping over the country. Much of the criticism of these two reforms is due to a misapprehension of the forces which have called them into life. Each of these reforms has its justification in the practical experience of the people; each of them is largely due to an awakening political consciousness which it is desirable to cultivate; and, if not pushed to extremes, neither of them is a departure from approved political experience. But neither of these reforms can make party government in the United States flexible, representative and responsible. Indeed they may only worse confound the already tremendous confusion. If the analysis of our political difficulties indicated in this paper is correct, namely, that the weight and inflexibility of our party machinery are due to the number of elective offices to be filled at each election, then the direct nomination device will duplicate the present complicated mechanism and will render it necessary to have abler experts, who understand not only the mysteries of the regular election law but the added mysteries of the primary law as well. The ordinary primary law provides for the election of several committees, establishes an intricate system for getting names on the primary ballot and adds a long series of penal provisions. The Hinman-Green measure, which was defeated in the New York legislature this year, is perhaps the only primary bill which has sought to simplify in any way the older system. In most states the primary law is a booklet of no mean proportions and, taken in connection with the ordinary election law, is enough to stagger the experienced student of law and politics, to say nothing of the inexperienced voter for whose guidance it is devised. The initiative also creates more machinery and broadens the already Brobdignagian ballot. With petitions for nomination, petitions for initiative and referendum, primary elections and regular elections, it looks as if the sovereign rights of the

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voter in democratic America will become like the so-called rights of attending county court, so much lauded by the Teutonic school—a burden, if not rooted in the soil, at least enforced by fine and imprisonment. It is a pity that we have no Dean Swift today to write on "madness in the commonwealth."

Representative, responsible, efficient government is our goal; and the way to it lies not through additional and more complicated political machinery, but through such a simplification of our present machinery as will permit the electorate to bring steady and persistent pressure on the great organs of government in the broad daylight of interested public discussion. This truth has been recognized by the most careful students and observers of our system of government. Mr. Albert Stickney, as early as 1879, expounded the idea in his *True Republic;* Mr. F. W. Whitridge, in his work on the *Caucus System*, and Dr. Dallinger, in his *Nominations for Elective Offices*, have pointed out that the simplification of the ballot is not only a necessary element in the scheme of making nominations but an important reform in our system of government. Dr. Merriam, in his careful study of direct nominations, reaches the conclusion that the system can attain its best results only after a material reduction in the number of elective offices.[1]

Students of local government, in which perhaps the long ballot may be used with the least harm, are coming to the same conclusion. Professor Fairlie, in his work on *Local Government*, writes:

> There can be no doubt that there are too many elective county officers. Their very number makes a popular election impossible in practice. Even the most intelligent voter cannot become acquainted with the merits and demerits of the numerous candidates, and perforce must vote on the basis of a party ticket or on a vague impression for most of the offices. The effective choice is necessarily made in most cases by party leaders; and the attempt to apply the elective principle universally has had the paradoxical effect of defeating its own purpose.[2]

[1] Merriam, Primary Elections, pp. 167 *et seq.*

[2] Local Government in Counties, Towns and Villages, p. 70.

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It is perhaps in our municipal government that the long ballot has been the greatest enemy to democratic government. As early as 1871, Mr. Charles Nordhoff wrote:

The folly of obliging the people to decide at the polls upon the fitness for office of a great number of persons lies at the bottom of almost all the misgovernment from which we suffer, not only in the cities but in the states. It is a darling device of the political jobbers and a most successful one; for, under the hollow pretence that thus the people have greater power, they are able to crush public spirit, to disgust decent and conscientious citizens with politics, to arrange their "slates," to mix the rascals judiciously with a few honest men wherever public sentiment imperatively demands that much, and to force their stacked cards upon the people.[1]

Mr. Clinton Rogers Woodruff supports this conclusion:

We rail against the bosses and we denounce party organization, as if that would avail, while we overlook the direct cause of the whole trouble—the complexity of our methods. How is a voter who is called upon to vote for candidates for twenty-two offices at a single election to exercise any caution which a conscientious citizen should exercise? . . . We play directly into the hands of the worst sort of a dictator—an unofficial one.[2]

President Wilson, in the address quoted above, puts the argument trenchantly:

Elaborate your government; place every officer upon his own dear little statute; make it necessary for him to be voted for; and you will not have a democratic government. Just so certainly as you segregate all these little offices and put every man upon his own statutory pedestal and have a miscellaneous organ of government, too miscellaneous for a busy people either to put together or to watch, public aversion will have no effect on it; and public opinion, finding itself ineffectual, will get discouraged, as it does in this country, by finding its assaults like assaults against battlements of air, where they find no one to resist them, where they capture no positions, where they accomplish nothing. You have a grand housecleaning, you have a grand overturning, and

[1] *North American Review*, vol. cxiii, pp. 327 *et seq.*

[2] POLITICAL SCIENCE QUARTERLY, vol. xv, pp. 267 *et seq.*

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the next morning you find the government going on just as it did before you did the overturning. What is the moral? . . . The remedy is contained in one word: *simplification*. Simplify your processes, and you will begin to control; complicate them, and you will get farther and farther away from their control. Simplification! simplification! simplification! is the task that awaits us; to reduce the number of persons to be voted for to the absolute workable minimum—knowing whom you have selected; knowing whom you have trusted; and having so few persons to watch that you can watch them.

It would be possible to summon a host of witnesses, publicists, men of affairs and practical politicians, in support of the doctrine that our elective system has been so overdone that it has ceased to be in fact an elective system and has become the prize of the expert. It would be possible to show a number of instances in which corrupt influences have actually sought the establishment of elective offices for the very purpose of taking the control of them out of the hands of the electorate.[1] It would be possible to demonstrate that no other country in the world wastes so much of its best political energy in overcoming the friction of its governmental machinery. But it seems a work of supererogation to push the argument further.

The effort to attain the short ballot should begin in a reform of the central government of the state, by giving the governor power to appoint all of the executive officials, just as the president of the United States appoints the heads of departments. No good reason can be advanced why purely administrative officers like auditors, treasurers and secretaries should be elected, for they have no large discretionary power and no share in shaping the policy of the administration. If the lieutenant governor is made the presiding officer of the upper house of the state legislature, some reason may be advanced for making the office elective; but it would be better to allow the Senate to elect its own president. It often happens that the governor is at loggerheads with the very men who are to assist him in "the faithful execution of the laws," because they belong to

[1] S. E. Moffett, "The Railroad Commission of California," *Annals of the American Academy of Political Science*, vol. vi, pp. 469 *et seq.*; J. R. Commons, "The La Follette Railroad Law," *Review of Reviews*, vol. xxxii, pp. 76 *et seq.*

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different political parties or, what is often worse, to contending factions within the same party. In more than one instance a governor has been on such unfriendly terms with his attorney-general that he has not dared to ask his advice on any serious legal question. The desirability of the proposed concentration of power is becoming more apparent as executive functions increase in number and complexity and as the necessity of efficient and responsible administration becomes clearer. More than one governor, possessed of large practical experience and animated by a sincere desire to establish efficient administration, has called attention to the anomaly of our disintegrated administrative system. Only a governor obsessed by the theory of popular election or unwilling squarely to assume the responsibility of his office can deny the imperative necessity of greater centralization.

In the sphere of municipal government there are already marked tendencies in the direction of simplification. All the recent charters of our large cities are increasing the appointing power of the mayor and giving him a larger place in the scheme of municipal administration. What New York has done in this regard is a matter of common knowledge. The recent report of the Boston Finance Commission recommends

> a simplified ballot with as few names thereon as possible; the abolition of party nominations; a city council of a single small body elected at large; the concentration of executive power and responsibility in the mayor; the administration of departments by trained experts or persons with special qualifications for the office; full publicity secured through a permanent finance commission.

The commission form of government, which is rapidly winning public favor, is an extreme form of simplification; in fact, such an extreme form that there are grave objections to it. No government, state or municipal, is merely concerned with business-like and "economical" administration, as some of our mercantile statesmen would have us believe. There are always large policies to be determined affecting liberty and property, and here is where the representative, deliberative element has its legitimate and indispensable function. Any scheme of government that ignores it is bound in the long run to fail.

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It is not likely that the voters in rural counties would welcome any simplification that would take from them the privilege of voting for a long list of county officers; although, as Professor Fairlie indicates in the passage quoted above, the elective offices in county government are not all filled by real election. In the counties there is perhaps less need of simplification than in the more populous urban centers where the personal element in politics is not so marked; and while the appointing power of the county board might well be increased to cover all the county offices except those of the sheriff and prosecuting attorney, it is not certain that such a change is requisite or even desirable. If county elections are separated from state elections, it will hardly be necessary to overturn a system which has so long existed unchallenged; although persons who have had practical acquaintance with "court-house rings" will from time to time be moved to advocate drastic reform in rural government also.

The ballot may be simplified, of course, by another method than that of reducing the number of elective offices. The number of elections may be increased. County, municipal, state and national elections may be separated—in those states where political experiments are not viewed with alarm they are already being separated—and the terms of officers may be so lengthened that the voter will not be confronted annually or biennially with too long and too bewildering a list of names. It is conceivable that this change may be combined with a decrease in the number of elective offices. Thus, by lengthening terms, separating elections and making the minor offices appointive, the desired ballot reform may perhaps be accomplished without disturbing too violently those Jeffersonian traditions which still have so strong a sway over the minds of our fellow citizens.

The results of any proposed reform in institutions are always highly problematical, so elusive are the collateral forces which come unexpectedly into play after it has been accomplished.[1]

[1] No legislator at Albany, for example, foresaw the famous "Raines hotel sandwich" when the Raines bill was under consideration.

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Nevertheless, if one confines himself to predicting "the main chance of things," he may prophesy "with a near aim." By eliminating wholesale nominations, a drastically simplified ballot ought to decimate the ranks of the expert office-fillers and thus help to break down that closely knit extra-legal organization through which some of the most malignant interests in American politics have operated. This simplification of our party organization, accompanied by close legal control, including direct nominations in some form, would surely make our scheme of government more transparent to public gaze and ought to save not a little of the enormous amount of energy that is now spent in fighting organizations—that is to say, in marking time. It would, in fine, uncover the enemy and let the voters see not only the line of battle but also the plan of campaign.

The simplification of the ballot ought so to simplify our politics that a larger number of citizens would understand their own government. It would enable the citizen to do his political work with a minimum amount of activity; activity in itself, some of the new prophets notwithstanding, being no virtue. Man is not made for the state, if we eschew German political science, but the state for man. There is no merit in fighting sham political battles over organizations and personalities—the chief business in the American governing process as now constituted. At all events it would be difficult for any one to convince the present writer that it is more virtuous to spend the best part of the year in trying to oust an incompetent state veterinarian, placed in office nominally by popular election but in reality by the "slate makers," than it is to read Dean Swift or Rabelais or to play chess. The point is to get a state veterinarian who knows his business, not to keep civic virtue at a certain degree of temperature by political exercise. Whether this contention is sound or not, the fact remains that the mass of the voters take slight interest in the details of politics. As Mr. Roosevelt vigorously puts it:

> It may be accepted as a fact, however unpleasant, that, if steady work and much attention to detail are required, ordinary citizens to whom participation in politics is merely a disagreeable duty will always be

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beaten by the organized army of politicians to whom it is both duty, business and pleasure, and who are knit together and to outsiders by their social relations. On the other hand, average citizens take a spasmodic interest in public affairs; and we should therefore so shape our governmental system that the action required by the voters should be as simple and direct as possible, and should not need to be taken any more often than is necessary. Governmental power should be concentrated in the hands of a very few men who would be so conspicuous that no citizen could help knowing all about them; and the elections should not come too frequently. Not one decent voter in ten will take the trouble annually to inform himself as to the character of the host of petty candidates to be balloted for, but he will be sure to know all about the mayor, comptroller, *etc.* It is not to his credit that we can only rely, and that without much certainty, upon his taking a spasmodic interest in the government that affects his own well-being; but such is the case, and accordingly we ought, as far as possible, to have a system requiring on his part intermittent and not sustained action.[1]

Finally this simplification of politics and reduction in the weight and complexity of our party organization—a program which by no means includes the destruction of party organizations—ought to have a wholesome effect in giving us some real politics at our city halls and state capitols instead of the sham politics of warfare between "reformers" and "bosses"—the distinguishing futility of American political life. A wag at Albany once remarked that the chief function of party was to give the organizations that polled the highest and the next highest number of votes at the last preceding gubernatorial election places on the newly created boards and commissions. Whoever doubts the essential soundness of this penetrating analysis by an "expert" may find overwhelming demonstration of its truth in President Lowell's statistics on party voting in the United States.[2] If we could get the office-filling machine out of the way, we might possibly get an alignment of parties on real issues; and in that event there might be a chance to carry to completion some real, constructive, vital social reforms.

CHARLES A. BEARD.

[1] American Ideals, p. 132.

[2] The Government of England, vol. ii, chap. xxx; see also Report of the American Historical Association for 1901.

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STATE TAXATION AND FOREST LANDS

THE problem of the direct state tax is almost universal. The local undervaluations and discriminations always produced by an apportionment by valuation are recognized evils. The state of Maine long ago found itself suffering from these difficulties, and among the recommendations of the special tax commission of twenty years ago were suggestions for remedying the situation by increasing the receipts from indirect state taxes and by creating a board of state assessors. These suggestions were adopted, but the evils were not cured. One of the chief reasons for the creation of a second special tax commission in 1907 was the continued trouble with the direct state tax.

The Maine tax commission of 1907–08 was a bi-partisan board of five members, of which the writer was clerk. It was in almost constant session for fourteen months, and its report[1] was submitted to the legislature in January, 1909. The commission made recommendations upon most of the well-known problems of taxation. It proposed (with two dissenting voices) that an *ad valorem* tax be substituted for the system of gross-receipts taxes upon public-service corporations. It urged the exemption of Maine state, county and municipal bonds and of securities of Maine corporations, and the enactment of a mortgage-recording tax. It advocated a direct-inheritance tax in addition to the previous collateral-inheritance tax. It suggested the taxation of life-insurance companies upon their reserve, of national banks upon their savings deposits, and of all foreign corporations by an annual license fee; and it made several minor recommendations. None of these recommendations were novel, and the discussion of them in the session of the legislature which adjourned early in April brought forth no counter sug-

[1] Report of the Maine Tax Commission appointed under provision of chapter 108, Resolves of 1907 (published by the state, 1908; printed at Waterville by the Sentinel Publishing Company; 74, 50, 91 pp.).

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gestions of particular moment. Eventually the legislature adopted the direct-inheritance tax, the foreign-corporation license fee, the exemption of Maine state, county and municipal bonds and some of the minor suggestions, and discarded the other recommendations. To analyze the report of the commission upon these points and to detail the history of the legislative discussion would produce few items of general interest.

Upon the subject of the direct state tax, however, the recommendations of the commission were radical and in some respects novel. When these were discussed in the legislature they brought forth counter-suggestions of some significance. A brief consideration, therefore, of the problem as it exists in Maine, of the views of the commission thereon and of the legislative action taken during the recent session will serve to throw light upon the problem as it exists elsewhere in the country.

The situation in Maine is complicated by a peculiar feature, namely, the "wild lands." These are the forest regions in the northern and eastern part of the state, comprising 14,000 square miles, or half the area of the state, unincorporated into townships, practically unsettled and at present subject only to state and county taxes. Because of the large receipts from indirect sources, the state tax has for many years been about three mills on each dollar of valuation. Since towns are the unit of government in Maine, counties being but judicial divisions, the county tax does not amount to more than one or two mills on each dollar of valuation. The result has been that under the existing system these wild lands, representing about one-tenth of the valuation of the state, have paid but five or six mills on each dollar of their assessed valuation, while property in incorporated places has paid an average of twenty mills on each dollar of value. Meanwhile, according to the reports of the board of state assessors, these lands are valued now at 120 per cent more than ten years ago, while other property in the state has increased in valuation but 15 per cent.

The people of the state have long felt that in some manner this vast expanse of territory should be more highly taxed. To the more valid arguments deduced from a comparison of valua-

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tions has been added the *argumentum ad hominem* that these lands are largely owned by persons residing out of the state or by persons residing in the larger cities of the state. To the expressed fear of the land owners and of persons interested in the conservation of natural resources, that the timber would have to be cut if the taxes should be increased, the answer has been that, by reason of the comparatively low valuation and small rate of tax, the present burden of taxation is only about two cents an acre (*i. e.*, five mills on a valuation averaging four dollars an acre), so that the tax could be several times doubled without becoming grievous. The tax on several acres for some decades could be met by the occasional marketing of single trees. It has also been pointed out that a tax at full local rates on a much more adequate valuation has been paid without difficulty by the owners of thousands of acres of wood lots in the settled sections of the state.

If this territory is to be adequately taxed, there are but two alternatives, unless the constitution of the state is to be amended. One is that some special tax should be created; the other, that a direct tax apportioned by valuation should remain a feature of the tax system. A plan to tax the wild lands at a special rate upon their valuation has been declared by the supreme court, in answer to an inquiry of the legislature, to be incompatible with the provisions of the constitution. It would be impossible to join these lands to incorporated places, and it would be futile to erect them into municipal corporations. There is obviously no possibility that they can be reached through any other form of direct state tax than that apportioned by valuation. Apportionment by expenditure, for instance, according to the method recently adopted in Oregon, would result in an entire exemption of these lands from any direct state tax.

Of the two alternatives just mentioned, that of a special tax has chiefly taken the form of a proposed "stumpage tax." This proposition has within the last few years attracted much attention. Forestry experts of other states have been its earnest advocates, and in Maine it has been slowly gaining supporters. The plan would tax the wild land at a merely nominal rate on a nominal valuation, using the proceeds for fire protection; but

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it would tax the lumber, as cut, at a rate of from thirty to fifty cents a thousand feet. The constitutionality of such a tax is inferred from a recent decision of the supreme court of the state, sustaining under the police power a proposition to limit or restrict owners of land in the cutting of their lumber. As yet, however, the proposition has not gone beyond the stage of theoretical discussion. One reason for its failure thus far to win practical attention is its novel and radical nature; but perhaps a more influential cause is a conservative distrust of its administrative provisions. It would be almost equally difficult to limit the operation of the law to the lumber from the wild lands or to include the lumber cut everywhere in the state. It has not yet been demonstrated that a steady revenue would be yielded. The people of the state, although accustomed to gross-receipt taxes on public-service companies, have often criticized the system because of the difficulty of comparing the tax burden borne by these companies with the burden of the individual taxed on his property. It is doubtful if they are disposed further to complicate the tax system by introducing new departures from the *ad valorem* basis. There is popular hostility, moreover, to a plan which would apparently permit a wealthy man to escape taxation for many years by the simple expedient of letting his trees remain uncut while their value increased. There is apprehension also that the lumber manufacturers and consumers would pay the tax directly in increased cost of lumber; the land owners, who sell their lumber on the stump, receiving the same net return for their stumpage as at present. Although such a tax may come in the future, as knowledge of forestry extends, it is clear that it will not come in Maine for many years. The attitude of the recent tax commission, dismissing the suggestion of a stumpage tax, was acquiesced in by the legislature with little dissent, and the people of the state seem generally to approve the decision.

The adoption of a stumpage tax in Maine would of course divorce the wild-land problem from the problem of the direct state tax, leaving the state free to attack the latter problem with an eye single to the solving of its fully recognized difficulties. The impracticability of a stumpage tax, however, left no alterna-

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tive but the maintenance of a direct state tax apportioned by valuations. All that remained to be decided, accordingly, was how the evils of such a levy might best be mitigated.

On this point the recent tax commission made two suggestions. The first was that the powers of the board of state assessors should be strengthened. Down to the present time that board has had little more than clerical duties. The legislation suggested by the commission was modeled on the Minnesota, Wisconsin and Michigan acts, under which effective work in supervision of taxation has been accomplished within the last half-decade. The bill was adopted by the legislature in the form presented; and Maine has now, accordingly, a state board empowered to summon witnesses, to investigate charges of concealment and undervaluation and to compel revaluations. This legislation undoubtedly marks a long step forward, and many of the difficulties which attach to the administration of a direct state tax will be lessened within the next few years, if the experience of the other states mentioned above is a criterion.

The tax commission's second suggestion was a distinct departure from anything yet attempted elsewhere. It proposed that the state tax should be apportioned, not by valuations of all property, but by valuations of land exclusive of buildings. The direct state tax, in Maine, is fixed by a statute for each year, which itemizes the amount due from each town and from each lot of wild land. These items are computations, at a rate determined by the legislature, upon a state valuation reported by the board of state assessors for each such town and lot. The tax commission's suggestion was that these tax items should be computed upon the value of the land alone, the amount charged against each town in the list to be raised, as now, by that town, with its other expenses, by a levy on all the taxable property, real and personal. The suggestion sounded like the "single tax"; but since it related exclusively to the apportionment, it was actually no more the "single tax" than the scheme of the Connecticut commission of twenty-five years ago for an apportionment by population was a poll tax.

The commission submitted a table showing what amount would be due from each town in the state under the proposed

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scheme. It urged that the difficulties of the direct state tax would be minimized; for the state board could more easily correct local valuations of one class of property than those of all classes. It argued that the difficulties of taxing intangible property would tend to disappear, since there would be in practice a large measure of local option in this respect. Finally, it pointed out that the wild-land problem would be solved, for the plan would more than double the amount of taxes paid by this territory and would at the same time establish a fair and equitable system for future years.

The legislature did not take kindly to the commission's recommendation for the apportionment of the direct state tax, chiefly because it was believed that the adoption of the plan would benefit only the populous places. The rural towns, in which land constitutes the greater part of the property, would pay increased taxes. A compromise might have been brought forward, namely, apportionment by the total values of all real estate, both land and buildings included. Such a compromise would seem to be more satisfactory in some ways than the commission's original suggestion. No such compromise was suggested, perhaps because it would increase but slightly the wild-land taxes.

Having discarded the commission's suggestion for a change of the basis of apportionment, the legislature was confronted merely with the question of the amount of the tax and the distribution of the proceeds. As an initial innovation, it passed an act erecting all the wild lands of the state into a single fire district and imposing a tax of one and one-half mills thereon for fire protection. There then remained three propositions upon the question of the primary direct state tax. All these propositions comprehended an increase in the amount of the tax, each one aiming to get more revenue out of the wild lands by an increase in the state's demands. The first was the suggestion of Mr. Bigelow, representative from Portland; the second was known generally as the "Grange scheme"; the third was a compromise plan, which was eventually adopted.

Mr. Bigelow's proposition was that the state should return to the towns, in proportion to valuation, the amounts received from

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state indirect taxes, forming about half the revenue of the state. This would make a hiatus in the state revenues, which would require a doubling of the rate of the state tax. The final result would be a net reduction of the amount of state tax paid by the municipalities and a corresponding increase of the amount from the wild lands. The assumption upon which the proposition was theoretically defended was that a direct state tax on prosperity is a fixed element in the taxing system of the state; that every dollar now collected from the indirect taxes relieves the towns in the state, in proportion to the property taxable therein, from a direct state tax which would otherwise be exacted up to the amount so collected; and that the proceeds of the indirect taxes, if no longer required for state purposes, might properly be returned to the municipalities, according to the taxable property therein, to compensate for the increased direct state tax levied upon such property.

The "grange scheme" was for a direct increase in the amount of the state tax, the additional revenue to be returned to the towns for school purposes in proportion to scholars and for road purposes in proportion to road mileage.

The compromise scheme which was adopted retains the present direct state tax unchanged, but levies a special additional state tax of one and one-half mills for schools and returns the proceeds to the towns, two-thirds by valuations, one-third by scholars.

It seems to the writer that all three of the propositions just mentioned were unfortunate, although the one adopted, as it was the mildest, was probably the least objectionable. Each plan involved an increase in the rate of the direct state tax and, therefore, a step backward; for the experience is universal that a direct state tax, apportioned by valuations, however necessary it may be, is none the less a misfortune. Every effort is being made in other states to reduce the tax to a minimum. Further, each of the plans included a rebate of state funds to localities. Such rebates set precedents exceedingly hard to escape, as Michigan and Wisconsin have found in the case of their school funds and Massachusetts and New Hampshire in the case of their state corporation taxes. Finally, each of the plans would

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inevitably result in deplorable local extravagance. Each town is obliged to spend eighty cents per inhabitant upon its schools, aside from state rebates other than the new mill-and-a-half fund. The state rebates which are locally distributed in addition to the fund just mentioned are the proceeds of a state tax of a mill and a half on the state valuation, as a part of the usual direct tax, and one-half the receipts from the franchise taxes on savings banks and trust companies. It is easy to understand why many of the real friends of the schools are apprehensive of the prospect for the immediate future.

It will be seen that Maine has within two years made but little headway in solving her peculiar problem, although the state has spent $25,000 on a special tax commission which devoted half its time to the particular problem, and although the legislature, at its recent session, devoted more time to the discussion of this matter than to that of any other subject.

What the outcome will be, it would be dangerous to prophesy. Since the adjournment of the legislature, the daily papers have been devoting much space to the recriminations and counter-recriminations of those who stood sponsors for the various schemes before the legislature, and who are now accusing one another of too great friendliness to the interests of the wild-land owners. During the two-year period which must elapse before the meeting of the seventy-fifth legislature, it will perhaps be possible to ascertain whether the board of state assessors, with its increased powers, has lessened the difficulties which attach to the direct state tax; whether the burden of taxation upon the wild lands is excessive; whether the school rebates have been harmful; and whether there is any reform which can be made which will allow the state to retrace its backward step of this winter in increasing the direct state tax, without disturbing a proper solution of the problem of taxing the forest lands. The experience of the coming two years may be helpful, both to Maine and to other states which have similar problems to face.

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PORTLAND, MAINE.

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THE NECESSARY READJUSTMENT OF RAILWAY RATES

THE interrelations of modern industry are so close and all members of the complicated economic organism are so sensitive to conditions affecting others that serious depression anywhere is incompatible with the normal activity of other lines of industry. No great industry can suffer a prolonged period of stagnation without so strongly reacting upon general business conditions as to impair confidence everywhere, with widespread losses and disaster to both labor and capital. This is particularly true of the United States, where the happy combination of absolutely free trade over an extended area of widely diverse natural conditions with the most efficient transportation system in the world, offering its services at the lowest rates, has brought about the highest degree of local specialization of industrial functions and the greatest dependence upon territorial exchanges of surplus products.

The railway industry in the United States is not only a great industry; it is the greatest save one, that of agriculture. It represents an actual capital investment exceeding one-tenth of the nation's wealth, and, under normal conditions, it gives direct employment to one and three-fourths millions of the country's most intelligent and efficient workers. Indirectly, in rail mills, locomotive works and car shops, in mines producing fuel for locomotives and ore for rails, axles, wheels and bridges, and in forests from which timber for cars and stations and ties are obtained, it gives employment to many more, to say nothing of the multitudes employed on farms, in factories and elsewhere to feed and clothe and house those previously enumerated.

The business of carrying persons and property by railway in the United States is not, to-day, in a healthy or prosperous condition. Omitting from the account the recent anti-railway agitation, which was more threatening in the vehemence of a few uninstructed advocates of drastic laws than serious in fina- accomplishment, the chief reason for this condition is unquesl

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tionably to be found in the fact that, in the face of a rapid and extensive decline in the value of standard money, the charges made by the railways have been so effectively controlled by custom and by law, principally the former, that they have far too sluggishly responded to the alteration in the value of the medium in which they are paid. The decrease in the value of money, which has been uninterrupted since the year 1897, has carried railway rates down with it; and this subtle, silent, unsolicited decrease has proceeded until not only the railway industry but all American industry has felt the cumulative force of an unseen injury. The obvious remedy for these conditions, which affect the business of railway transportation and react injuriously upon labor and capital in every other field, is to dissolve, for the time being, the customary restrictions upon the rate schedules and frankly to sanction such a readjustment in rates as will sufficiently, although partially, offset the loss through the depreciation of money. No railway manager should hesitate to acknowledge that the application of this remedy is impossible save through the coöperative acquiescence of the fair-minded traveling and shipping public.

The precise extent of the depreciation of the American dollar since 1897 is, of course, not measurable. The most nearly adequate statistical efforts to measure fluctuations of this sort omit some essential elements, and questions of the relative weights of different items are insoluble; but approximations are possible and helpful. The figures of the United States Bureau of Labor[1] show an increase in general prices, from 1897 to 1907, in the ratio of 897 to 1295 or 44.37 per cent, which means that $1.44 in 1907 would buy only as much as $1.00 in 1897. Another approximation, by *Dun's Review*, gives about the same result, *viz.*, an increase in the ratio of 75,502 to 107,264 or 49.37 per cent. The smaller increase in general prices disclosed by the investigations of the Bureau of Labor is equivalent to a fall in the value of money of 30.73 per cent. To assume that the inclusion of omitted items, principally those

[1] Bulletin no. 75, Bureau of Labor, United States Department of Commerce and Labor.

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of rent, amusements, personal services and transportation, would reduce the fall to but twenty per cent is doubtless to be unnecessarily liberal. But on this low basis the fall in railway rates has been excessive.

TABLE I. DECREASE IN RAILWAY RATES

RAILWAY RATES	1897	1907		
	IN MONEY OF CURRENT VALUE (CENTS)	IN MONEY OF CURRENT VALUE (CENTS)	IN MONEY OF SAME VALUE AS IN 1897 (CENTS)	ACTUAL DECREASE (PER CENT)
Per passenger per mile . .	2.022	2.014	1.611	20.33
Per ton of freight per mile.	.798	.759	.607	23.93

Applying the rule laid down by Adam Smith, that "the real price of everything, what everything costs to the man who wants to acquire it, is the toil and trouble of acquiring it," the foregoing means that the average purchaser of railway transportation now obtains passenger service at a price 20.33 per cent lower and freight service at a price 23.93 per cent lower than in 1897. If, however, we follow the problem a little further, applying Adam Smith's second conclusion, that "what everything is really worth to the man who has acquired it and who wants to dispose of it or exchange it for something else is the toil and trouble which it can save to himself and which it can impose upon other people," we shall find that the transportation which it has to sell is less productive to the railway by which it is sold.

The pay-roll of the railways in 1907 amounted to $1,072,386,427 and required no less than $41.42 out of each one hundred dollars of their gross receipts. And in transportation, that is to say, in passenger-miles or ton-miles, railway labor cost much more in 1907 than ten years earlier. The following table shows, for example, that in 1897 the average payment for carrying a passenger 86 miles sufficed to pay for one day's service of the average station agent, while in 1907 a passenger had to be carried 102 miles, or 18.60 per cent further, in order to provide the

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TABLE II. INCREASED

EMPLOYEES	WAGES PER DAY IN MONEY [1]		
	1897	1907	INCREASE (PER CENT)
Station agents	$1.73	$2.05	18.50
Other stationmen	1.62	1.78	9.88
Engmemen	3.65	4.30	17.81
Firemen	2.05	2.54	23.90
Conductors	3.07	3.69	20.20
Other trainmen	1.90	2.54	33.68
Machinists	2.23	2.87	28.70
Carpenters	2.01	2.40	19.40
Other shopmen	1.71	2.06	20.47
Section foremen	1.70	1.90	11.76
Other trackmen	1.16	1.46	25.86
Switchmen, flagmen and watchmen	1.72	1.87	8.72
Telegraph operators and despatchers	1.90	2.26	18.95
Employees, account floating equipment.	1.86	2.27	22.04
All other employees and laborers	1.64	1.92	17.07

railways with the same quantity and quality of assistance. The average increase in the transportation services necessary to compensate labor, as shown above, was 23.07 per cent.

Approximately eleven cents out of every railway dollar expended to meet operating expenses are paid out in the purchase of fuel for locomotives. All but a negligible portion of this fuel is coal, so that the increase in the cost of coal is one of the chief elements in the depreciation of railway dollars. Table III (page 628) shows that, to purchase fuel at the mines in the ten states from which the railways must obtain their largest supplies, they were obliged, in 1907, to perform on the average no less than 49.58 per cent more service than in 1897.

The rate at which the cost of cars has increased is indicated by data for the years 1900 and 1905, compiled by the United States Census Bureau, and presented in Table IV (page 628). While the cars built in 1905 may have been, on the average, somewhat heavier and more substantial than those built five years earlier, the change to the modern standards antedates the former year, and little of the rise in value is attributable to this

[1] Data in these columns are from the reports of the statistician to the Interstate Commerce Commission.

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COST OF RAILWAY LABOR

WAGES IN PASSENGER-MILES			WAGES IN TON-MILES		
1897	1907	INCREASE (PER CENT)	1897	1907	INCREASE (PER CENT)
86	102	18.60	217	270	24.42
80	88	10.00	203	235	15.76
181	214	18.23	457	567	24.07
101	126	24.75	257	335	30.35
152	183	20.39	385	486	26.23
94	126	34.04	238	335	40.76
110	143	30.00	279	378	35.48
99	119	20.20	252	316	25.40
85	102	20.00	214	271	26.64
84	94	11.90	213	250	17.37
57	72	26.32	145	192	32.41
85	93	9 41	216	246	13.89
94	112	19.15	238	298	25.21
92	113	22.83	233	299	28.33
81	95	17.28	206	253	22.82

cause.[1] Evidently, the number of passenger-miles or ton-miles necessary to obtain the funds to pay for a new passenger or freight car was much greater in 1905 than in 1900. This suggests that, in accordance with the general trend of prices and wages, there must have been a still greater rise from 1897 to 1907. Accounting records of actual purchases, presented in Table V (page 628), show that this was true in the case of locomotives.

The increase in the cost of other staple articles purchased by the railways has equaled or exceeded the increases already noted. Data of unquestioned authority, based upon a compre-

[1] The author of the Census Bulletin explains the rise as follows: "The average capacity of the 1,727,620 freight cars reported by the railways in 1905 was 62,000 pounds, whereas the same average for the 1,505,992 freight cars reported in 1902 was 56,000 pounds. Moreover, in 1902, 1,275,742, or 84.7 per cent of the total number of freight cars reported, had a capacity of 60,000 pounds or less; whereas, for 1905, 1,271,154, or only 73.6 per cent of the total number of freight cars reported, had a capacity of 60,000 pounds or less. These figures indicate the cause of the . . . increase in value of freight cars." A little more consideration would doubtless have convinced the writer of the report that the changes indicated by his figures are merely the cumulative result of the constant addition, during every year of a period which began before 1900, of a large number of cars above the average in size. They by no means establish a progressive increase in the size of the cars annually added.

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TABLE III. INCREASED COST OF COAL FOR LOCOMOTIVES

STATES	PRICE PER TON AT MINES								
	IN MONEY [1]			IN PASSENGER MILES			IN TON-MILES		
	1897	1907	INCREASE (PER CENT)	1897	1907	INCREASE (PER CENT)	1897	1907	INCREASE (PER CENT)
Alabama	$0.88	$1.29	46.59	44	64	45.45	110	170	54.55
Colorado	1.17	1.40	19.66	58	70	20.69	147	184	25.17
Illinois	.72	1.07	48.61	36	53	47.22	90	141	56.67
Indiana	.84	1.08	28.57	42	54	28.57	105	142	35.24
Maryland	.76	1.20	57.89	38	60	57.89	95	158	66.32
Ohio	.78	1.10	41.03	39	55	41.03	98	145	47.96
Oklahoma	1.34	2.04	52.24	66	101	53.03	168	269	60.12
Pennsylvania [2]	.69	1.04	50.72	34	52	52.94	86	137	59.30
Tennessee	.81	1.25	54.32	40	62	55.00	102	165	51.76
West Virginia	.63	.99	57.14	31	49	58.06	79	130	64.56

TABLE IV. INCREASED COST OF CARS [3]

CARS	1900	1905
Passenger cars		
Number built	1,369	2,446
Total value	$8,810,032	$20,486,260
Average value	$6,435.38	$8,375.41
Increase in value (per cent) from 1900 to 1905.	. .	30.15
Freight cars		
Number built	143,133	115,494
Total value	$77,240,632	$79,215,260
Average value	$539.64	$685.88
Increase in value (per cent) from 1900 to 1905.	.	27.09

TABLE V. INCREASED COST OF LOCOMOTIVES

TYPE	1897	1907	INCREASE (PER CENT)
Mogul	$10,181.00	$14,111.00	38.6
10-wheel passenger	11,026.00	15,734.00	42.7
8-wheel passenger	10,243.00	13,581.00	32.5
6-wheel switcher	9,392.00	12,098.00	28.8

[1] Data from reports of United States Geological Survey.

[2] Bituminous coal only.

[3] Data from Census Bulletin no. 84, p. 41.

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hensive investigation of all the chief sources of supply, are published by the United States Bureau of Labor.[1] The following are a few typical increases:

TABLE VI. INCREASED PRICES OF RAILWAY SUPPLIES

ARTICLES	UNIT	1897	1907	INCREASE (PER CENT)
Axes, M. C. O. Yankee	each	$0.39	$0.68	74.36
Coke, Connellsville furnace	ton	1.62	2.83	74.69
Bar iron, best refined, from mill	pound	.011	.0175	59.09
Barbed wire, galvanized	cwt.	1.80	2.63	46.11
Nails, cut 8-penny, fence and common	cwt.	1.33	2.16	62.41
Nails, wire, 8-penny, fence and common	cwt.	1.49	2.12	42.28
Steel rails	ton	18.75	28.00	49.33
Brick, common domestic	m.	4.94	6.16	24.70
Cement, Rosendale	bbl.	.75	.95	26.67
Lumber, hemlock	m. feet	11.00	22.25	102.27
Lumber, oak, plain	m. feet	36.25	55.21	52.30
Lumber, pine, yellow	m. feet	16.44	30.50	85.52
Lime, common	bbl.	.72	.95	31.94

The bulletin from which the above prices are quoted indicates that putty, Portland cement and Ames shovels are about the only exceptions to the general rule of largely enhanced prices.

In the matter of interest on the capital employed, the railways have apparently enjoyed an advantage which would seem to offset the natural tendency of interest rates to rise in response to the stimulus of augmented cost, in dollars and cents, of the commodities entering into the budget of expenditures of the average recipient of interest—the advantage, that is to say, growing out of the fact that a large proportion of railway capital is secured under long-time contracts, and that many of the contracts now in force unquestionably run back to a time when the extensive depreciation of the American dollar had not begun. This advantage is a real one, but its extent is easily exaggerated. For the purpose of throwing light upon the effect on the cost of production of railway transportation of the rise in interest rates which has characterized recent years, an analytical study of railway indebtedness (including guaranteed dividends) amounting in the aggregate, to $9,499,099,065,[2] has

[1] See Bulletin no. 75 of the United States Bureau of Labor.

[2] The Interstate Commerce Commission gives $9,342,961,476 as the aggregate par

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been made. This sum represents indebtedness now outstanding, and it includes some duplication, owing to the fact that certain of the securities represented in the aggregate are themselves based upon other securities deposited as collateral or held in the treasuries of the corporations making the secondary issues—duplication which could not have been eliminated without adding vastly to the difficulty of the inquiry and with no corresponding gain in the accuracy of the result. These data are subject to a further qualification, due to the fact that all of the issues included were not sold at par. In some cases a small premium was doubtless obtained and in other instances a slight discount was required, but nevertheless it is believed that the data fairly represent the general change in interest rates on capital loaned to railways. Of the total outstanding indebtedness of $9,499,099,065, the portion incurred during the years 1897 to 1908, including the first seven months of the last year, was $5,466,340,252, or 57.55 per cent. Table VII shows the amount of this indebtedness incurred during each year and the percentage obtained at the varying rates of interest:

TABLE VII. INDEBTEDNESS AND RATES OF INTEREST

YEAR	INDEBTEDNESS INCURRED	RATE OF INTEREST (PER CENT) AND PROPORTION OF INDEBTEDNESS INCURRED AT EACH RATE							
		6½	6	5	4½	4	3¾	3½	3
1897	$493,408,775	. .	2.24	8.54	1.56	41.73	. .	44.92	1.01
1898	390,803,025	. .	.12	1.92	.05	48.08	. .	49.83	. .
1899	505,936,672	. .	2.59	5.77	3.14	54.91	. .	25.05	8.54
1900	215,039,851	. .	.53	7.40	3.71	38.94	. .	29.10	20.32
1901	512,559,403	. .	.35	7.58	7.38	74.55	0.07	10.07	. .
1902	471,578,658	. .	. .	9.53	4.23	73.80	. .	12.44	. .
1903	427,358,965	. .	.36	12.54	5.17	74.40	. .	5.22	2.31
1904	325,078,790	. .	.08	18.82	9.30	59.53	. .	12.27	. .
1905	635,304,659	. .	.28	10.44	11.65	57.38	. .	17.73	2.52
1906	514,638,170	0.07	.23	27.55	7.95	48.78	9.38	6.04	. .
1907	708,351,929	. .	4.28	40.86	25.10	29.70		.06	. .
1908 [1]	266,281,355	. .	43.00	17.86	1.07	38.07	. .	. .	. .
Total	$5,466,340,252	0.01	3.25	15.34	8.00	53.49	0.89	16.87	2.15

value of the funded debt obligations of the railways of the United States. See Special Report no. 1, Bureau of Statistics of the Interstate Commerce Commission.

[1] January to July, only.

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Even a cursory examination of the foregoing data shows that the average rate of interest demanded by those who supply railway capital has greatly increased. The largest aggregates of new indebtedness incurred in 1897 and 1898 were at the rate of three and one-half per cent; from 1899 to 1906, both years included, the greater portion was at four per cent; in 1907, the largest aggregate was at five per cent; while of the amount borrowed in the months of 1908 for which data are available the greater portion was obtained at six per cent. Loans at three and one-half per cent, which supplied a considerable aggregate during all of the years to and including 1906 and particularly in the earlier years of the period, had substantially disappeared before 1907, and no funds were procured at less than four per cent during the portion of 1908 which is included. The increased volume of loans at five and six per cent is equally marked. The table shows that, in 1897, the railways borrowed 87.66 per cent and, in 1898, 97.91 per cent of the new capital obtained in the form of loans at four per cent or even more favorable terms; in 1907, they were compelled to promise more than four per cent on 70.24 per cent and, in the first six months of 1908, six per cent on 43 per cent of their borrowings. The significance of these figures is made still more apparent by Table VIII (page 632), which shows, opposite the total borrowings of each year, the interest charges thereon and the average rate upon the portion of the capital which it represents. These statistics show, in the average interest rate demanded upon new loans to railway corporations, an increase from 3.90 per cent in 1897 to 4.62 in 1907 and to 5.04 in 1908. The increase in the rate from 1897 to 1907 was equal to 18.46 per cent, and from 1897 to 1908 it was 29.23 per cent. In other words, one dollar would pay interest on as much of the new capital secured by loans in 1897 as $1.29 would on the loans of 1908. The loss in power to purchase new capital, therefore, amounts to 22.62 per cent. In order to pay interest on the average $1000 borrowed in 1897, the railways would have had to carry 1929 passengers or 4887 tons of freight one mile at the average rates in force in that year; at the rates of 1908 for money borrowed and for services performed, they

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TABLE VIII. RISE IN AVERAGE RATE OF INTEREST

YEAR	INDEBTEDNESS INCURRED	INTEREST CHARGES ON INDEBTEDNESS INCURRED DURING YEAR	
		AMOUNT	RATE (PER CENT)
1897	$493,408,775	$19,258,593	3.90
1898	390,803,025	14,744,141	3.77
1899	505,936,672	19,804,814	3.91
1900	215,039,851	8,073,638	3.75
1901	512,559,403	20,856,559	4.07
1902	471,578,658	19,119,182	4.05
1903	427,358,967	17,561,577	4.11
1904	325,078,790	13,571,945	4.17
1905	635,304,659	25,758,601	4.05
1906	514,638,170	21,964,215	4.27
1907	708,351,929	32,722,081	4.62
1908[1]	266,281,355	13,431,067	5.04
Total	$5,466,340,252	$226,866,413	4.15

would have had to carry 2502 passengers or 6640 tons of freight one mile to pay interest on the same sum. To meet the changed financial conditions the railways required an increase in the passenger service of 29.70 per cent and in freight service of 35.87 per cent.[2]

While the other costs of producing railway transportation have been advancing in the manner shown, the states have been steadily increasing the taxes levied against railway property, and both the state and federal governments, in the exercise of the powers of regulation, have made demands that have both increased expenses and reduced gross receipts. Statistics compiled by the Interstate Commerce Commission shows that in 1897 the railways paid taxes at an average rate of $235.36 per mile, and that by 1907 this average had been augmented 50.02 per cent, and was $353.09 per mile. A careful estimate indicates that the additional requirements of different kinds imposed

[1] January to July, only.

[2] Probably every one understands that the sums annually required for new railways and for the improvement of those already in existence far exceed those paid out to the holders of all classes of securities. The precise figures as to bonds and interest presented in table IX, on the following page, are significant and worth recording.

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upon the railways under regulation measures adopted during the same period now approximate $100,000,000 per annum.

It has been shown: first, that since 1897 there has been a slight decrease in average rates per mile per passenger and per ton of freight; and, second, that these reductions, in connection with the extensive fall in the purchasing power of the money received from freight services, amount to a notable decline, probably exceeding twenty per cent, in the rates received by the railways. So great a decline in so short a period, coupled with the plain needs of the American railway system in respect to improvements and extensions and the obvious inadequacy of current revenues, clearly indicate the necessity for some such readjustment of rates as shall offset, in part at least, the too rapid decline.

This inference could be successfully combated only by showing affirmatively either that the general level of railway rates in 1897 was unreasonably high, or that the average rates per passenger or per ton per mile do not fairly represent the movement, or absence of movement, upward or downward, of the great body of railway charges.

The best evidence that railway charges were not excessive in 1897 is to be found in the progressive augmentation of the utilization of railway facilities. Oppressive and exorbitant charges

TABLE IX. CAPITAL BORROWED AND INTEREST PAID

YEAR	NEW CAPITAL BORROWED	INTERST ON BONDS	RATIO OF INTEREST PAYMENTS TO NEW BORROWINGS (PER CENT)
1898	$390,803,025	$237,578,706	60.79
1899	505,936,672	241,657,535	47.76
1900	215,039,851	242,998,285	113.00
1901	512,559,403	252,594,808	49.28
1902	471,578,658	260,295,847	55.20
1903	427,358,965	268,830,564	62.90
1904	325,078,790	282,118,438	86.78
1905	635,304,659	294,803,884	46.40
1906	514,638,170	305,337,754	59.33
1907	708,351,929	323,733,751	45.70
Total	$4,706,650,122	$2,709,949,572	57.58

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for any commodity or service result in a restriction of the use of that commodity or service; for there is always a more or less numerous body of users who either go without the satisfaction of the particular economic want or make use of a substitute. Now the ever-ready substitute for railway transportation is to resort to the use either of articles produced nearer the points of consumption or of those which can be brought thither by water routes. The increased *per capita* use of railway transportation shows that there has been in operation no sufficient incentive to such substitution. This was true in 1897, and it is true to-day.[1]

TABLE X. INCREASED UTILIZATION OF RAILWAY SERVICES

YEAR	POPULATION	PASSENGERS CARRIED ONE MILE	TONS OF FREIGHT CARRIED ONE MILE	PASSENGERS CARRIED ONE MILE PER CAPITA OF POPULATION	TONS OF FREIGHT CARRIED ONE MILE PER CAPITA OF POPULATION
1880	50,155,783	5,740,112,502	32,348,846,693	114	645
1890	62,622,250	11,847,785,617	76,207,047,298	191	1217
1895	69,043,000	12,188,446,271	85,227,515,891	177	1234
1897	71,704,000	12,256,939,647	95,139,022,225	171	1327
1900	76,303,387	16,039,007,215	141,599,157,270	210	1856
1905	83,143,000	23,800,149,436	186,463,109,510	286	2243
1907	85,817,239	27,718,554,030	236,601,390,103	323	2757

The figures in this table show that from 1880 to 1897 an increase in population of 42.96 per cent was accompanied by an increase in railway passenger travel of 113.53 per cent and in railway freight transportation of 194.10 per cent. From 1897 to 1907 the increase in population was 19.68 per cent; in passenger travel, 126.15 per cent; and in freight transportation, 148.69 per cent.

Nor can the statement that the average ton-mile rates fairly represent the general level of railway charges be challenged with success. Among the vast number of separate railway rates there are many changes from day to day, and these include both advances and reductions. This has always been so,

[1] Testifying before the Senate Committee on Interstate Commerce on March 18, 1898, Hon. Martin A. Knapp, chairman of the Interstate Commerce Commission, said: "The question of excessive rates—that is to say, railroad charges which in and of themselves are extortionate—is pretty nearly an obsolete question."

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and it must continue to be so, unless the rate schedules are deprived of that elasticity which from the beginning of railway development has played so large a part in the great and rapid growth of interstate railway commerce and of the productive industries dependent upon widely separate markets or sources of supply. It would be impossible to tabulate all these changes for a period of twelve months, and it would be equally impossible to assign to each its proper weight in a general average which would establish the fact of an advance or reduction in charges in general. But the aggregate ton-mileage is made up of such a multitude of separate services that it is necessarily governed by the statistical generalization sometimes called "the law of large numbers." It would be difficult to conceive of a more satisfactory use of the statistical method than in the determination of the average rate per ton per mile for railway freight services as a means of testing the movement, or absence of movement, in the general level of railway charges. Table XI shows how slight has been the variation in the character of the aggregate railway freight movement during the last nine years.

TABLE XI. VARIATIONS IN RAILWAY TONNAGE [1]

YEAR	PERCENTAGE OF TOTAL TONNAGE MADE UP OF DIFFERENT CLASSES OF COMMODITIES						
	PRODUCTS OF AGRICULTURE	PRODUCTS OF ANIMALS	PRODUCTS OF MINES	PRODUCTS OF FORESTS	MANUFACTURES	MERCHANDISE	MISCELLANEOUS
1899	11.33	3.12	51.47	10.89	13.45	4.49	5.25
1900	10.35	2.87	52.59	11.61	13.41	4.26	4.91
1901	10.76	2.91	51.67	11.67	13.75	4.16	5.08
1902	9.23	2.64	52.36	11.64	14.49	4.37	5.27
1903	9.56	2.63	51.56	11.67	14.39	4.69	5.50
1904	9.59	2.74	51.56	12.53	13.41	4.83	5.34
1905	9.03	2.54	53.59	11.24	13.60	4.32	5.68
1906	8.56	2.32	53.09	11.24	14.81	4.06	5.92
1907	8.62	2.29	53.39	11.38	15.41	3.89	5.02
EXTREME VARIATION	2.77	.83	2.12	1.64	2.00	.94	1.01

[1] Data from reports of the statistician to the Interstate Commerce Commission. No data for earlier years.

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It shows a high degree of stability in the constitution of the total tonnage, but it also shows that what change has taken place has been toward a higher quality in the average or typical unit of freight. As the data represent tonnage instead of ton-mileage, they do not throw as much light as might be desired upon the quality of the average ton-mile unit, but they undoubtedly convey some information concerning the nature of the changes in progress. There is no question that, in general, products of agriculture, animals, forests and mines are low-grade commodities, or that, on the other hand, the commodities classed as manufactures, merchandise and miscellaneous are high-grade articles. An increase in excess of the general average increase in the tonnage contributed by the first four classes would accordingly tend to lower the quality of the average ton-mile unit, while the opposite effect, that is a raising of the quality, would result if the last three classes should increase more rapidly than the increase in all tonnage. Adopting this classification, the following table shows the respective increases in high-grade and low-grade tonnage.

TABLE XII. INCREASE OF TONNAGE

CHARACTER OF COMMODITIES	TONS, 1897	TONS, 1907	INCREASE	
			AMOUNT	PER CENT
High grade . .	102,457,095	217,164,053	114,706,958	111.96
Low grade . .	339,424,528	676,020,919	336,596,391	99.17
Total	441,881,623	893,184,972	451,303,349	102.13

The considerably greater increase in the tonnage of high-grade articles indicated by the foregoing figures is hardly within the possible margin of error in the classification, but, in any case, what the figures certainly prove is the absence of any actually far-reaching change, from this source, in the character of the typical unit of traffic.

The facts that certain portions of the United States are more

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densely populated and more highly developed industrially than others, and that the more scantily populated and less developed regions are, upon the whole, growing more rapidly than the others, must have some influence upon the ton-mile unit. So far as this influence has been effective during the last decade, it has operated to make the typical unit of this class a more costly unit; that is to say, without any change in actual rates, the more rapid growth of traffic movement in the regions naturally characterized by the higher rates would have tended to raise the general average per ton per mile. An increase due to this cause would not mean a rise in the general level of rates. But so great is the aggregate of traffic movement that this influence, though distinctly traceable in the data made available through the labors of the statistician of the Interstate Commerce Commission, has had no great effect upon the general average.

TABLE XIII. INCREASE OF TRAFFIC MOVEMENT IN REGIONS OF HIGHER COST

TON-MILE RATE	TON-MILEAGE		
	1897	1907	INCREASE (PER CENT)
Above the average . . .	43,035,439,011	113,732,994,301	164.28
Below the average . . .	52,103,583,214	122,868,395,802	135.82
Total	95,139,022,225	236,601,390,103	148.69

The region with rates above the average in 1897 had 45.23 per cent of the total ton-mileage in that year and 48.07 per cent in the year 1907. Of the total increase in traffic movement, 49.98 per cent was in this region. The precise effect that these changes in the geographical distribution of the ton-mileage would have had upon the average ton-mile rate for the whole country is shown by the computation set forth in Table XIV. By dividing the aggregate of the products in the last column of this table by the total ton-mileage shown in the second column, an average is obtained which represents the ton-mile rate that would have resulted in 1907 had the traffic of each group in that

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TABLE XIV. EFFECT OF CHANGED DISTRIBUTION OF TON-MILEAGE

GROUP [1]	TON-MILEAGE IN 1907	TON-MILE RATES IN 1897 (IN MILLS)	PRODUCT OF TON-MILEAGE OF 1907 AND TON-MILE RATES OF 1897
I	6,511,166,971	12.02	$78,264,226.99
II	63,455,243,659	6.75	428,322,894.70
III	47,944,909,002	6.05	290,369,199.46
IV	11,418,243,141	6.48	73,990,215.55
V	17,397,321,360	8.64	150,312,856.55
VI	44,318,734,155	8.55	378,925,177.03
VII	9,300,234,849	11.48	106,766,696.07
VIII	17,406,430,971	10.79	187,815,390.18
IX	7,546,655,555	10.40	78,485,217.77
X	11,252,450,440	12.75	143,468,743.11
United States	236,601,390,103	. . .	1,916,720,617.41

year moved in precisely the same volume in which it actually moved and had the average rate in each group been exactly the same as they were in 1897. This shows that, under the conditions assumed, the average ton-mile rate for the whole country would have been 8.10 mills, or 0.12 mill higher than in 1897. This advance of 1.50 per cent would have been wholly due to the more rapid growth of traffic movement in the regions where rates are normally higher.

Still another deduction of the same character may be drawn from the official statistics. Since the fiscal year 1901 the Interstate Commerce Commission has published annually a classification of loaded freight cars accordingly as they have moved westward or southward on the one hand, or eastward and northward upon the other. It is a matter of common knowledge that, in general, the coarser and cheaper articles of freight traffic move eastward and northward, while the finer and more costly articles preponderate in the westward and southward movement. Therefore a relatively greater increase in the loaded freight-car movement toward the west and south means a corresponding

[1] All data in this table, with the exception of the calculated figures in the last column, are from the reports of the statistician to the Interstate Commerce Commission. The groups are those adopted by the commission for the classification of railway statistics.

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rise in the quality of the average ton-mile. Every one knows that there was a relatively greater increase of this sort from 1897 to 1901, but, unfortunately, the statistics do not cover the years prior to 1901.

TABLE XV. LOADED CAR MOVEMENT

YEAR	TOTAL NUMBER OF LOADED CARS CLASSIFIED BY DIRECTION OF MOVEMENT	LOADED CARS MOVING WESTWARD OR SOUTHWARD	
		NUMBER	PERCENTAGE OF TOTAL
1901 . . .	7,241,271,038	3,272,799,201	45.20
1907 . . .	10,739,746,096	5,086,564,588	47.36

These figures show a slight increase in the westward and southward movement but are chiefly significant as clearly showing that there was, in this particular, no lowering in the quality of the ton-mile unit. It should be noted that the apparently slight increase of 2.16 per cent in westward and southward movement is equivalent to no less than 231,978,516 loaded cars.[1]

Therefore the conclusion that rates have declined in the full measure of the diminished purchasing power of the money in which they are paid is not impaired by any evidence of a lowering of the quality of the ton-mile unit; and its inevitable sequence, the conclusion that some adjustment should be made, is supported by the general recognition of the fact that the rates in force in 1897 (which have been made the basis of the comparison because it was with that year that the depreciation of money commenced) were not too high. In view of the value to the country of railway prosperity,[2] there seems no

[1] There is high authority for the conclusion that there has been no lowering of the quality of the ton-mile unit. The question was fully considered by Professor Henry C. Adams and Mr. H. T. Newcomb in their capacity as experts employed by the Senate Committee on Interstate Commerce, and they agreed upon a statement to that effect. See Digest of the Hearing before the Committee on Interstate Commerce of the United States Senate, compiled by Henry C. Adams and H. T. Newcomb, Senate Document no. 244, Fifty-Ninth Congress, First Session, p. 77.

[2] The loss from its absence is not always traceable. Its probable extent is merely

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escape from the conclusion that public opinion ought to sanction a proper readjustment of railway freight rates, and that such an adjustment must restore to the railways a considerable part of the loss which they would sustain by continuing to receive payment in money of decreased value in accordance with schedules of rates that were established before the decrease began.

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NEW YORK CITY.

suggested by the fact that the output of freight cars in the United States decreased from 284,188 in 1907 to 76,555 in 1908; that of passenger cars from 5457 to 1716, and that of locomotives from 7362 to 2342. In 1906 the railways of the United States ordered 310,315 freight cars; in 1907, 151,711; in 1908, 62,668. Assuming a cost of $700, these orders were worth $217,230,500, in 1906; $196,197,700, in 1907; and $43,868,300, in 1908.

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MARXISM VERSUS SOCIALISM. IV[1]

VIII

ALL the doctrines of Karl Marx, scattered as they are in various writings, support one another and thus form a single theoretical system. We find, accordingly, that all the theses of Marx which we have examined in the preceding parts of this study lead up to his class-struggle doctrine. It is on the basis of his economic interpretation of history that he constructs his theory of the development of social life. Division of labor produces a division of classes, with the lower class in constant struggle against the upper class. The concentration of industry leads to a concentration of capital, which, while gradually narrowing the capitalist class to a small circle of financial and industrial magnates, pushes the middle class—artisans, shop-keepers and farmers—into the ranks of wage earners. The continuous development and frequent revolution of technique make production more and more independent of the workingman's skill and physical strength. Improved machinery displaces labor and makes it possible to substitute unskilled for skilled labor, child labor for adult labor. These changes increase the reserve army of the unemployed and make the living conditions of the employed more and more precarious. The growing misery of the working class increasingly accentuates and embitters the raging class struggle. The proletarians "have nothing to lose but their chains. They have a world to win."[2]

Of all the doctrines of Marx no one perhaps grates so much upon American feeling as his doctrine of class struggle. All that is broadly American—the memory of the past, the theory of government, the democratic ideal and the energetic personal outlook—seems to rebel against such an interpretation of society.

[1] For earlier parts of this study see POLITICAL SCIENCE QUARTERLY, vol. xxiii (1908), pp. 193–219, 652–689, and vol. xxiv (1909), pp. 236–268.

[2] The closing words of the Communist Manifesto.

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Yet this is a conception which permeates the whole Marxian system. All the doctrines which we have thus far examined are from a certain viewpoint but scaffoldings for the class-struggle doctrine. We must therefore endeavor to understand and criticize this doctrine despite disinclination and apart from preconception.

It will be well to begin our analysis of the class-struggle theory with an historical excursion, for this may prove helpful when we are called upon to determine what is true and what is erroneous in the Marxian doctrine. Some years ago a Russian anarchist, W. Tcherkesoff,[1] attacked the *Communist Manifesto* of Marx and Engels as a plagiarism from a pamphlet of Considérant.[2] No attention was paid by the socialist writers to this pamphlet until the Italian scholar Labriola stated, in practical agreement with Tcherkesoff, that the main ideas of the *Communist Manifesto*, such as the concentration of industry and of capital and the increasing misery of the masses, are contained in the pamphlet of Considérant. It was no great discovery that Tcherkesoff and Labriola made. A more intimate acquaintance with French literature would have shown them that these were current conceptions, to be found in Vidal as in Pecqueur, in Considérant as in Louis Blanc—conceptions suggested by the hopeless economic conditions which followed in the wake of the industrial revolution and probably first formulated by the great French economic thinker, Simonde de Sismondi.[3]

[1] Pages of Socialist History (New York, C. B. Cooper, 114 Fourth Ave., 1902), pp. 55–66.

[2] Victor Considérant, Principes du socialisme: Manifeste de la démocratie au dix-neuvième siècle (1st ed., Paris, 1843; 2d ed., Paris, 1847). I have not yet succeeded in finding this pamphlet in any American library, and my acquaintance with it is unfortunately limited to Tcherkesoff's, Labriola's and Kautsky's citations.

[3] Nearly all the "new ideas" are to be found in Sismondi, not excluding the very latest attempt of Kautsky to save Marx's theory of increasing misery by reinterpreting it violently in the sense of an increasing relative disproportion in wealth: "Ainsi le progrès de l'industrie, le progrès de la production comparée avec la population tend à augmenter l'inegalité parmi les hommes. Plus une nation est avancée dans les arts et dans les manufactures, plus est grande la disproportion entre le sort de ceux qui travaillent et celui de ceux qui jouissent; plus les uns ont de peine, plus les autres étalent de luxe." De Sismondi, Nouveaux principes d'économie politique ou de la richesse dans ses rapports avec la population (2d ed. Paris, 1827), vol. i, p. 80.

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To the accusation of plagiarism directed against Marx, Kautsky replied that, so far as the theories of concentration of wealth and of increasing misery are concerned, it is quite true that a number of socialistic writers of the forties held similar views, but what distinguishes Marx from all others is his insight into "the rôle of class struggle as the driving force in social development." While other socialists—in particular, the school of Fourier and Considérant—saw in increasing misery nothing but unmitigated misery, Marx saw in the same phenomenon the pledge of the inevitable struggle, the assurance of the coming victory.[1]

I cannot quite share Kautsky's viewpoint. What strikes me as new and characteristic in Marx is his effort to maintain a consistent historical realism and his systematic coördination of ideas which, regarded singly, were not original. Engels himself seemed to exaggerate the originality of the class-struggle conception in the *Communist Manifesto*.[2] The antagonism between

[1] "Wenn Marx und Engels behauptet hätten, mit dem kommunistischen Manifest beginne der Sozialismus des neunzehnten Jahrhunderts, dann wären sie sicher Plagiatoren. Aber nur jemand, der von den anderen Sozialisten jener Zeit bloss Considérant kennt, könnte dann behaupten, dass sie gerade diesen abgeschrieben hätten. Denn was das kommunistische Manifest mit Considérants Manifest gemein hat, teilt es mit allen andern zeitgenössischen Sozialisten.

"Worin besteht aber die eigenartige Leistung des kommunistischen Manifestes, wenn die sogenannte 'Verelendungs-' und 'Konzentrations-theorie' von den anderen Sozialisten seiner Zeit anerkannt wird, wenn sie alle ihren Sozialismus auf die ökonomischen Tendenzen der kapitalistischen Produktionsweise basieren?

"Diese Leistung besteht einmal darin dass jene Theorien im Manifest vertiefter erscheinen als bei einem anderen Sozialisten jener Zeit; dann aber, und vor allem, in der Erkenntnis der *Rolle des Klassenkampfes* als Triebkraft der gesellschaftlichen Entwickelung und der Anwendung dieser Erkenntnis auf den Klassenkampf des Proletariats. Davon hatten die meisten anderen Sozialisten gar keine Ahnung, und gerade jener Richtung, der Considérant angehörte, gielt der Klassenkampf als höchst unsympathische Verirrung. Wohl war auch Considérant und seinen Genossen die Thatsache des Klassenkampfes selbst bekannt, aber sie sahen nicht, wie er notwendig aus der ökonomischen Entwickelung hervorwuchs und die neue Gesellschaft vorbereitete." K. Kautsky, "Das Kommunistiche Manifest ein Plagiat," *Neue Zeit* (Jahrg. xxiv, 1906), vol. xi, p. 698.

[2] "If Herr Duehring means . . . that our present economic condition, the stage attained to-day in agriculture and industry, is the result of a society which has developed itself in class antagonisms, in mastership on the one hand and in slavery on the other hand, he says something which is a mere commonplace since the publication of the Communist Manifesto." Frederick Engels, Landmarks of Scientific Socialism (Anti-Duehring), translated by Austin Lewis (Chicago, 1907), p. 206.

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poor and rich was a commonplace observation, even in the days of classical antiquity; and the earliest socialist writers did not fail to take notice of this antagonism. Saint-Simon plainly speaks of the "proletarian class," describes existing law, particularly the law of inheritance, as "the daughter of the right of conquest" and shows how the many are exploited by the few, the latter enjoying a legal "monopoly of all riches."[1] Saint-Simon, indeed, lays chief stress on class exploitation; but to him, apparently, class antagonism and class exploitation are identical conceptions. Moreover he points out that the degree of exploitation of one class by another has in the course of centuries greatly diminished.[2]

But Marx was not lacking in predecessors whose class-struggle conception was sharply defined. French nineteenth-century historians needed no enlightenment on this point in dealing with the events which led up to and followed the French revolution.[3] By far the most interesting of these writers was Guizot, who was not only a great historian but a great statesman, and who, curiously enough, was responsible for exiling

[1] "Les avantages et les désavantages propre à chaque position sociale se transmittent *héréditairement;* les économistes ont pris soin de constater un des aspects de ce fait, l'hérédité de la misère, lorsqu'ils ont reconnu dans la société l'existence d'une classe de *prolétaires.* Aujourd'hui la masse entière des travailleurs est exploitée par les hommes dont elle utilise la propriété; les chefs de l'industrie subissent eux-mêmes cette exploitation dans leur rapports avec les propriétaires, mais à un degré incomparablement plus faible; et à leur tour ils participent aux privileges de l'exploitation qui retombe de tout son poids sur la classe ouvrière, c'est-à-dire sur l'immense majorité des travailleurs. Dans un tel état de choses, l'ouvrier se présente donc comme le descendant direct de l'esclave et du serf; sa personne est libre, il n'est plus attaché à la glèbe, mais c'est là tout ce qu'il a conquis, et, dans cet état d'affranchissement légal, il ne peut subsister qu'aux conditions qui lui sont imposées par une class peu nombreuse, celle des hommes qu'une législation, fille du droit de la conquête, investit du monopole des *richesses,* c'est-à-dire de la faculté de disposer à son gré, et même dans *l'oisiveté,* des instruments de travail." Saint-Simon et Enfentin, Oeuvres, vol. xli, pp. 225, 226.

[2] "L'antagonisme, l'empire de la force physique, l'exploitation de l'homme par l'homme, sont sans doute aujourd'hui considérablement affaiblis; ils ne se manifestent plus même que dans des formes tellement adoucies et défournées, qu'il parait difficile d'abord de les apprécier; néanmoins ils subsistent dans ces formes et leur intensité est encore fort grande." Saint-Simon, *loc. cit.*, p. 222.

[3] This subject is adequately dealt with by Plekhanoff in his preface to the Russian edition of the Communist Manifesto (Geneva, 1900), pp. 14 *et seq.*

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Marx from Paris for views which he himself, even if indirectly, helped to formulate. Guizot was a thinker and writer of unflinching courage, confessedly the spokesman of the *bourgeoisie* and proud of this rôle. To the defence of the new order of things, as constituted after the Revolution, he devoted his life. As a statesman, he regarded the middle class as the foundation of the *société nouvelle*, and, as an historian, he glorified its deeds and struggles in past centuries.[1] During his prime there was not a shred of sentimentality about him; he used his own clear head and nobody's obscure philosophy; and the only advance in Marx's class-struggle conception over Guizot's was that Marx interpreted economically the formation, division, antagonism and struggle of classes—an explanation which is lacking in Guizot. On the other hand Guizot makes, as early as 1816, some truly amazing statements. The theorists of the Revolution, according to him, either deceived themselves or were lying when they talked about the sovereignty of the people. It was not a question of sovereignty but of the conquest of one portion of the people by another.[2] The victorious portion comprised an immense majority, and the doctrine of the sovereignty of the people added to their force. We seem always to need a doctrine, even if we have superior force on our side, simply because we love to believe and make believe that we are also right.[3] That is an interpretation of the origin and value of political doctrines sufficiently pragmatic even for our day!

[1] "Je soutiens avec ardeur la cause de la société nouvelle telle que la révolution l'a faite, ayant l'égalité devant la loi pour premier principe et les classes moyennes pour élément fondamental. J'agrandis encore cette cause déjà si grande en la reportant dans le passé et en retrouvant ses intérêts et ses vicissitudes dans tout le cours de notre histoire." Guizot, Mémoires pour servir à l'histoire de mon temps (Paris, 1858), vol. i, p. 296.

[2] This was to such an extent a matter of fact that the theorists of the Revolution became unconscious of it when they were talking theory; but their language was quite different when they were making practical propositions. So St. Just suggests: "Le moyen d'affermir la révolution est de la faire tourner au profit de ceux qui la soutiennent et à la ruine de ceux qui la combattent." Suite de la copie de pièces saisies dans le local que *Babeuf* occupait lors de son arrestation (Paris, Nivôse, An V), vol. ii, p. 72.

[3] "Car il faut toujours une doctrine à la force, même supérieure, tant les hommes ont besoin de croire et de faire croire qu'ils ont raison." Guizot, Du gouvernment de la France depuis la restauration et du ministère actuel (3d ed., Paris, 1820), p. 138.

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To Guizot, French history is a record of a struggle between two classes which lasted for thirteen centuries, and of which the final act was the Revolution.[1] The Revolution itself was the hour of triumph and of vengeance of the oppressed class; and whoever fails to view it in this aspect, as a class struggle, will never comprehend it, will never understand its successes and reverses, its virtues and its crimes.[2] When attacked on account of his class-struggle conception by the press of his time, Guizot replied that it never occurred to him that he had the honor of making a discovery or even of finding a fresh phrase. People were saying the same thing hundreds of years before the Revolution and three months before he published his book.[3] What he was stating, Guizot claimed, was neither a theory nor an hypothesis, but a fact in all its simplicity; a fact which it was ridiculous to question; a fact witnessed by the past as well as the present, by the conduct of the kings and the texts of their ordinances as well as by the proceedings of the States-General, the speeches in the Assembly, the civil code and the latest French constitution.[4]

[1] "La révolution a été une guerre, la vraie guerre, telle que le monde la connait entre peuples étrangers. Depuis plus de treize siècles la France en contenait deux, un peuple vainqueur et un peuple vaincu. Depuis plus de treize siècles le peuple vaincu luttait pour secouer le joug du peuple vainqueur. Notre histoire est l'histoire de cette lutte. De nos jours une bataille decisive a été livrée. Elle s'appelle la révolution." Du Gouvernement de la France, pp. 1, 2.

[2] "La révolution a été une revanche, le triomphe et la vengeance d'une majorité longtemps opprimée sur une minorité longtemps maîtresse. Quiconque ne voit pas la révolution sous ces deux aspects ne la connait point. Par-là seulement s'expliquent ses espérances et ses mécomptes, ses vertus et ses crimes, ses succès et ses revers, l'enthousiasme et l'effroi qu'elle a inspirés, ce qu'elle a eu de sublime, ce qu'elle a offert de hideux." *Ibid.*, p. 139.

[3] "En exprimant ce fait, j'étais fort loin de prétendre a l'honneur d'une découverte ou seulement d'une nouveauté. Je ne voulais que résumer l'histoire politique de la France. La lutte des ordres remplit ou plutôt fait toute cette histoire. On savait et on disait cela bien de siècles avant la révolution. On le savait et on le disait il y a trois mois. *Ibid.*, avant-propos de la troisiéme edition, p. vi.

[4] "Ce n'est point là une théorie ni une hypothèse; c'est le fait lui-même dans toute sa simplicité. Et ce fait, je le répète, loin qu'il y a quelque mérite a le voir, il est presque ridicule de le contester. Le passe, le présent, la conduite de nos rois, les recueils de leur ordonnances, les procès-verbaux des états-généraux, les discours prononcés à la tribune de nos assemblées, le langage et les passions des partis, l'émigra-

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What is characteristic of all the earlier writings of Guizot is his joy in life and in conflict, his tone of challenge, his contempt for all who hesitated to admit the class struggle. Class struggle, however, meant to him solely the struggle of the *bourgeoisie* against the feudal aristocracy; the working class was left out of consideration. Later, as the proletariat of Paris made itself felt more and more as a political force, and in proportion to the degree in which it made itself felt, his tone became more subdued, more cautious. In his brilliant essay on "Democracy in Modern Communities," published in 1838, he described democracy as a war-cry, as the banner raised by the many of lower rank against the few placed above them[1]; the consequences of this war in behalf of democracy were many and they were fruitful: shattered and destroyed were the feudal system, the caste system, the perpetual concentration of social privileges in the hands of the few, the right divine, lay or ecclesiastical[2]; but the further and continued attack in the name of democracy he already regarded as mischievous and capable of destruction only. Here is his picture of the struggle for democracy:

Political rights and privileges have been exclusively concentrated in the hands of a small number. This concentration no longer appears justifiable, upon the plea of superiority either in riches, influence, intelligence or moral and social strength. The multitude rises and exclaims: Let us count our numbers; we are all equal; let the power belong to the many.

It is thus that the new maxims oppose the old; they are true when received in their negative sense and are powerful engines of destruction. The ancient edifice yields to the vigor of their attacks and falls to the ground. This is a fearful but, under the decrees of Providence, a predestined work. When the ancient edifice becomes contracted, inconvenient, uninhabitable, ruinous and defended only by a corps of

tion, les proscriptions, nos erreurs, nos crimes, le code civil, la charte, tout le révèle, tout le proclame avec une telle evidence, qu'il y a vraiment une puérilité peu commune dans la tactique des hommes qui essaient maintenant de le nier." *Ibid.*, pp. xv, xvi.

[1] Guizot, Democracy in Modern Communities, translated from his essay in the *Revue Française* (London, 1838), p. 7.

[2] *Ibid.*, p. 16.

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invalids, its fall is inevitable; and the battering ram, the sap and the mine detach it from the soil with a force that threatens even the soil itself. But when the work of destruction is consummated and the hour of reconstruction arrives, when the necessity of it is universally admitted, when it is commenced spontaneously in all directions, what can be more absurd, what more mischievous, than to continue still sounding the attack and directing against the rising edifice, to the peril of its artificers, the very engines which subverted the old one.[1]

His experience as a prime-minister during the revolution of 1848 made him cry out for social peace and denounce the new class struggle as the greatest shame of the century.[2] But he himself realized that his was but a pious wish and his voice that of one crying in the wilderness. He saw that the new combatant class that had entered the arena was young and strong and as arrogant as nobility or bourgeoisie had ever dared to be, and that the outlook for social peace was dark indeed.[3] He realized also that the very meaning of the word democracy had changed, shifted, where he could not follow it: it had begun to mean real democracy or, as he called it, pure and absolute democracy, and this new watchword foreboded new and incessant struggles.[4]

[1] Guizot, Democracy in Modern Communities, p. 45.

[2] "La lutte de diverses classes de notre société a rempli notre histoire. La revolution de 1789 en a été la plus générale et la plus puissante explosion. Noblesse et tiers état, aristocratie et democratie, bourgeois et ouvriers, propriétaires et prolétaires, autant de formes autant de phases diverses de la lutte sociale qui nous travaille depuis si longtemps. Et c'est au moment où nous nous vantons de toucher à l'apogée de la civilisation, c'est au bruit de plus humaines paroles qui puissent sortir de la bouche des hommes, que cette lutte renait plus violente, plus farouche que jamais! C'est un fleau, c'est une honte que notre temps ne peut accepter. La paix intérieure, la paix entre toutes les classes de citoyens, la paix sociale! c'est le besoin suprême de la France, c'est le cri de salut." Guizot, De la Démocratie en France (Paris, 1849), p. 35.

[3] "Et maintenant un troisième combattant est entré dans l'arène. L'élément démocratique s'est divisé. Contre les classes moyennes on dresse les classes ouvrières, contre la bourgeoisie le peuple. Et cette nouvelle guerre est aussi une guerre à mort, car le nouveau prétendant est aussi arrogant, aussi exclusif que les autres ont jamais pu l'être. Le peuple, dit-on, a seul droit à l'empire; et nul rival, ancien ou recent, noble ou bourgeois, ne peut être admis a le partager avec lui." *Ibid.*, p. 107.

[4] "Les socialistes, les communistes, les montagnards veulent, que la République soit une democratie pure, absolue. C'est pour eux la condition de sa légitimité. Tel

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It could hardly be denied that Guizot had a clear-cut conception of class struggle, not only as an empirical fact but as an historical force, indeed as *the* social force which is ultimately responsible for the great changes and readjustments that have taken place in the course of centuries. The actual existing interests accept or reject, discard or change, not only ideas and doctrines but even constitutions[1]; all these either serve the interests of the ruling class or express a compromise between the interests of the contending classes, perhaps in accordance with the time-honored recipe: *unusquisque tantum iuris habet, quantum potentia valet.* And yet Guizot was as right as he was modest when he said that he had made no new discoveries and no new statements. One hundred years earlier very much the same conception of politics had been held by Abbé Baudeau: "*Connaitre ses interêts et y pourvoir c'est ce qu'on appelle politique*"; and many of Guizot's predecessors were much keener in distinguishing the interests of the working class from that of the *tiers état*—a distinction which Guizot was very unwillingly compelled to make, and only by the events of the forties. No revolutionary socialist of our day, no agitator of the Marxian era, has ever surpassed Linguet in branding the class character of all existing legislation. According to Linguet the very essence of all law is to safeguard property and preserve inequality, to protect the rich from the poor; to him it is a demonstrated fact that all existing law is but a formal conspiracy against the vast majority of mankind. Dictated by wealth, the law primarily serves wealth; law is wealth's fortress in the enemy's country.[2] There is an abyss between those that

est l'empire du mot *démocratie* que nul gouvernement, nul parti n'ose vivre, et ne croit le pouvoir, sans inscrire ce mot sur son drapeau, et que ceux-là se croient les plus forts qui portent ce drapeau plus haut et plus loin. Idée fatale, qui soulève ou fomente incessament la guerre au milieu de nous, la guerre sociale! C'est cette idée quil faut *extirper*. La paix sociale est à ce prix, et avec la paix sociale, la liberté, la sécurité, la prosperité, la dignité, tous les biens moraux et matériels, qu'elle peut seule garantir." *Ibid.*, pp. 10, 11.

[1] "Tant il est vrai que les idées, les doctrines, les constitutions elles-mêmes subissent le joug des circonstances, et ne sont accueillis par les peuples que lorsqu'elles servent d'instrument ou de garantie à des intérêts pressants et generalement sentis." Guizot, Du Gouvernment de la France, p. 91.

[2] "C'est surtout cette inégalité dont les lois cherchent à balancer les effets, à adoucir

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have and those that have not property. The necessity of living compels the latter to slave for the former; to work on the fields, the fruits of which they will not gather; to erect buildings, in which they will not dwell; and to beg on their knees for permission to enrich the rich.[1] And that was written in 1767!

During the French revolution the socialistic group comprehended without explanation that society as constituted was divided into two classes. If they did not dwell much on the subject, it is because they took it for granted: class rule was the main objective of their attack. Their struggle, of course, was all for equality and "nature" against class rule. The opening and very naïve passages of Buonaroti's *History of Babeuf's Conspiracy* are convincing on this point.

Whilst ambition, jealousy, cupidity and the blind love of innovation kept up a deplorable struggle among a people, of whom some combated to reëstablish the ancient monarchy, others to place upon the French throne a new dynasty, others again to transfer power from one caste of society to another, but all for the purpose of appropriating exclusively to themselves the national authority and thereby those enjoyments of which authority is the source; amid all these parties there was slowly formed a certain class of citizens, who, actuated by very different principles [*etc.*, *etc.*]. . . Our divisions during the revolution were the results of opposing interests and principles. While one set of persons

les dangers. Elles ne peuvent la faire disparaître. Au contraire même il est de leur essence de l'affermir. Elles sont destinées surtout à assurer les propriétés. Or comme on peut enlever beaucoup plus à celui qui a, qu'à celui qui n'a pas, *elles sont évidemment une sauvegarde accordée au riche contre le pauvre*. C'est une chose dure à penser, et pourtant bien démontrée, qu'elles sont, en quelque sorte, une conspiration contre la plus nombreuse partie du genre humain. C'est contre ceux qui ont le plus grand besoin de leur appui, que sont dirigés leurs plus grands efforts. C'est l'opulence qui les dicte, et c'est elle aussi qui en retire les principaux avantages. Ce sont des forteresses établies en sa faveur au milieu d'un pays ennemi, ou il n'y a qu'elle qui ait des dangers à craindre." [Linguet], Theorie des lois civiles, ou principes fundamentaux de la société (Londres [Paris], 1767), vol. i, pp. 195, 196.

[1] "C'est l'impossibilité de vivre autrement, qui force nos journaliers à remuer la terre dont ils ne mangeront pas les fruits, et nos maçons à élever des édifices où ils ne logeront pas. C'est la misère qui les traine sur ces marchés, où ils attendent des maîtres qui veuillent bien leur faire la grace de les acheter. C'est elle qui les réduit à se mettre aux genoux du riche, pour obtenir de lui la permission de l'enrichir." *Ibid.*, vol. i, p. 274.

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(the honest) supported a system because they believed it to be good, another set, far more numerous, united themselves to the party that appeared most favorable to their personal views of fortune and ambition.[1]

Of course Babeuf and his followers regarded their own conspiracy not as in the interest of a class but as inspired by eternal justice and "nature"; yet when we read their propaganda songs they seem to address their appeal to a very distinct class. Here is the beginning of one of these songs:

Mourant de faim, mourant de froid,
Peuple dépouillé de tout droit,
  Tout bas tu te désole:
Cependant le riche effronté,
Qu'epargna jadis ta bonté,
  Tout haut il se console.

Gorgés d'or, des hommes nouveaux,
Sans peines, ni soins, ni travaux,
  S'emparent de la ruche;
Et toi, peuple laborieux,
Mange et digère, si tu peux,
  Du fer, comme l'autruche.[2]

The poetical value of the concluding simile may be questioned, but the sentiment and purpose of the song are clear. The complaint of another song is that "on vit des princes, des sujets, des opulents, des miserables; on vit des maîtres, des valets" *etc.*[3] Babeuf asserted on one occasion that the French revolution was a war between the patricians and plebeians, between the rich and the poor. And he prophesied that the revolution could not end so long as the rich had all the privileges and governed the state, while the poor worked like slaves without playing any rôle in the commonwealth.[4]

[1] Buonarroti's History of Babeuf's Conspiracy for Equality, translated by Bronterre (London, 1836), pp. 5, 6.

[2] Suite de la copie de pieces saisis dans le local que Babeuf occupait lors de son arrestation (Paris, An V), vol. ii, pp. 78, 79.

[3] Espinas, La philosophie sociale du XVIIIème siècle et la Rêvolution (Paris, 1898), p. 248.

[4] Fournière, Les théories socialistes au XIXème siècle, p. 355.

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Thus we see that Marx was not obliged to invent either class hatred or class struggle. Europe had always had plenty of it, and at the beginning of the nineteenth century the outlook for peace was unpromising. The two great poets of Marx's own fatherland expected little from the nineteenth century in the way of peace. Schiller greeted none too optimistically the advent of the new century:

> Das Jahrhundert ist in Sturm geschieden
> And das neue öffnet sich mit Mord.

And it is interesting to note that Goethe looked across the sea for social peace, to the new world, which had not inherited feudal castles and traditions of class hatred:

> Amerika, du hast es besser;
> Du hast im Magen keine Schlösser;
> Dich stört nicht im Innern
> Zu lebendiger Zeit
> Unnützes Erinnern
> Und vergeblicher Streit.

But at the very same time there lived in America a statesman who did not seem to have any such poetical illusions about his own country. Madison seemed to think that, with or without castles, different economic interests were sure to produce contending classes; and how to check future class struggles and minimize their effects was the problem which he was endeavoring to solve. In the tenth number of the *Federalist* we can find the better part of the Marxian doctrine which we are now considering. Madison reasons:

> From the protection of different and unequal faculties of acquiring property, the possession of different degrees and kinds of property immediately results; and from the influence of these on the sentiments and views of the respective proprietors, ensues a division of the society into different interests and parties. . . . Those who hold and those who are without property have ever formed distinct interests in society. Those who are creditors and those who are debtors fall under a like discrimination. A landed interest, a manufacturing interest, a mercantile interest, a moneyed interest, with many lesser

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interests, grow up of necessity in civilized nations, and divide them into different classes actuated by different sentiments and views. . . . Either the existence of the same passion or interest in a majority at the same time must be prevented, or the majority, having such coëxistent passion or interest, must be rendered, by their number and local situation, unable to concert and carry into effect schemes of oppression. If the impulse and the opportunity be suffered to coincide, we well know that neither moral nor religious motives can be relied on as an adequate control.[1]

In investigating the extent to which class antagonism was recognized before Marx, it is indifferent whether a particular writer advocated class struggle or discouraged it. The important thing is the consciousness of the existence of classes with antagonistic interests. Even the preaching of class struggle is not necessarily associated with revolutionary ten-

[1] Speaking of class struggle and its recognition in America, it is worth while to point out that Mr. A. M. Simons, in his work entitled Class Struggles in America (Chicago, 1907), misrepresents John Adams by quoting certain sentences which, separated from the context, suggest ideas quite different from those which Adams was endeavoring to express. On page 14 Mr. Simons cites:

"It is of no consequence by what name you call your people, whether by that of freeman or of slave. In some countries the laboring men are called freemen, in others they are called slaves, but the difference is imaginary only. What matters it whether a landlord employing ten laborers on his farm gives them annually as much as will buy the necessaries of life or gives them those necessaries at short hand."

What Adams actually did say Mr. Simons could hardly use in his propaganda pamphlet. The record of Adams's speech is taken from Jefferson's notes, which read as follows: "Mr. John Adams observed, that the numbers of people were taken by this article as an index of the wealth of the state, and not as subjects of taxation; that as to this matter, it was of no consequence by what name you call your people, whether by that of freeman or of slave. In some countries the laboring men are called freemen, in others they are called slaves, but the difference is imaginary only. What matters it whether a landlord employing ten laborers on his farm gives them annually as much as will buy the necessaries of life or gives them those necessaries at short hand? The ten laborers add as much wealth to the state, increase its exports as much, in the one case as in the other. Certainly five hundred freemen produce no more profit, no greater surplus for the payment of taxes, than five hundred slaves. Therefore the state in which the laborers are called freemen should be taxed no more than that in which are those called slaves. . . . A slave may indeed, from custom of speech, be more properly called the wealth of his master, than the free laborer might be called the wealth of his employer; but as to the state, both were equally its wealth and should therefore equally add to the quota of its tax." John Adams, Works, edited by Chas. F. Adams (Boston, 1850), vol. ii, p. 497.

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dencies. It has been so, as a rule, when sounded from below; but class struggle has been emphasized from above as an appeal for class rule and class subordination. Ludwig von Haller gives a fair illustration of the latter tendency. His work appeared in 1816, the year in which Guizot published his *Representative Government*. The very title is suggestive: *Restoration of Political Science* (*Restauration der Staatswissenschaft*). The restoration of the legitimate thrones is to be followed by the reënthronement of legitimate science; the annihilation of the hydra of the Revolution calls for the uprooting of that false political science which is based upon the idea of a social compact.[1] The substance of this "restored" political science is the right of strength—not physical strength, of course, but the strength of position and of wealth. Instead of the sovereignty of the people, the sovereignty of the one who has the power and the wealth to be independent; instead of authority derived or delegated, one's own might, one's own right—that is the doctrine.[2] Von Haller saw a miniature prince in every landlord, merchant and manufacturer, because these had subordinates.[3] Such persons fell short of being real princes only in that they were without complete personal independence.[4] All inequality, all superiority of power or wealth, is a blessing from heaven.[5] And whosoever is really against revolution, must not

[1] "Die Hyder der Revolution ist in ihren Werkzeugen und grossentheils in ihren Resultaten vernichtet: lasst uns auch ihre Wurzel vernichten, auf dass sie nicht neue Blätter hervortreibe. Die rechtmässigen Throne sind hergestellt; wir wollen auch die rechtmässige Wissenschaft wieder auf den Thron heben, diejenige die im Dienst des obersten Herren steht, von deren die ganze Schöpfung zeugt dass sie die wahre sei." Karl Ludwig von Haller, Restauration der Staatswissenschaft oder Theorie des natürlich-geselligen Zustandes (2d ed., 1820), vol. i, p. 1.

[2] "Statt der Souverainität oder Unabhängigkeit des Volks, die Souverainität desjenigen der unabhängig ist, der Macht und Vermögen hat es zu seyn; statt anvertrauter Macht, eigene Macht und eigenes Recht." *Ibid.*, vol. i, p. xlix.

[3] "In jedem Gutsherrn, sogar in jedem Handelsmann oder Fabrikanten sah ich auf das deutlichste das Bild eines Fürsten, in der freyen Aggregation der Untergebenen den Anfang, den rechtlichen Grund und die Schranken der Abhängigkeit und Dienstbarkeit." *Ibid.*, vol. i, p. xvi.

[4] "Was fehlt jenen gewöhnlichen Herren zum vollkommenen Fürsten, als die eigene persönliche Unabhängigkeit?" *Ibid.*, vol. i, p. xvii.

[5] *Ibid.*, p. lxxix.

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only talk against it (even a Jacobin could by mere talk pretend to be against revolution) but in all his acts he must do the exact opposite of what the Furies of Revolution command; he must recognize that all authority is from God, and that God has established inequality in personal fortune to the end that there may be great and small, high and low, *etc.*[1]

To an American reader the theory of von Haller may seem to be simply a curiosity. In certain purely philosophical aspects this may be true, but Haller's religious argument for class rule was the argument most generally approved and employed throughout the continent of Europe. That is the reason why a strong anti-religious movement, in fact a militant atheism of one kind or another, was the inevitable precursor of the revolutionary movements in France, Germany and Russia. To meet the mediæval attitude of the established church, whether Catholic, Lutheran or Greek, incipient revolution invariably started with a general attack upon religion as such, an attack which seemingly obscured all political issues. To Americans, whose churches, fortunately, have developed under democratic auspices, the psychology of such movements must appear strange and almost incomprehensible. And yet without a clear understanding of this revolutionary psychology the sweeping conquest which Marx's class-struggle doctrine has achieved will remain equally obscure.

To get the full flavor of the religious class-rule doctrine in our own days one has to go to Russia. There a distinguished philosopher and defender of Russian autocracy, Leontyeff, will inform us that the basis of the Russian state and society is Greek

[1] "Darum so schaffet Gehülfen hinzu, bittet den Herrn dass Er Arbeiter in seinen Weinberg sende. Erkennet sie und ihre Tauglichkeit nicht daran, dass sie gegen Revolution und Jakobinismus schreyen (denn das können und pflegen jetzt auch seine Anhänger mit schlecht versteckter Heucheley) sondern daran, wenn sie das Gegentheil von allem thun und begünstigen, was jene Furien gebieten; wenn sie glauben und bekennen, dass alle Macht und alle Regel der Macht von Gott allein sey; dass Er durch Verschiedenheit der Glücksgüter grosse und kleine Herren, Hohe und Niedrige geschaffen . . . wenn sie jedem das seinige lassen, und die Verträge, Verhältnisse und Besitzungen der Menschen nicht nach ihrer Willkür schaffen wollen. Wer aber die Macht der Starken von den Schwachen herkommen lässt, wer herrliche Naturanstalten tadelt [*etc.*] . . . von dem weichet." *Ibid.*, p. lxxxi.

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orthodoxy, Byzantinism. He will tell us that the Byzantine ideal is discouragement in regard to everything earthly, including personal happiness and personal purity. Leontyeff will further tell us that Byzantine Christianity teaches strict subordination. It teaches that the worldly, the political hierarchy is but the reflection of the heavenly hierarchy; that there is no equality, because the church teaches that even angels are not equal among themselves.[1] Christianity accordingly offers the surest and most practical means of ruling the masses of the people with an iron hand. But this power only true Christianity has, not Christianity *à l'eau de rose*, with its talk about love without fear, the dignity of human nature and the good of mankind.[2] Love of mankind is anthropolatry and is un-Christian. Fear is the basis of faith. Everybody can comprehend fear, fear of punishment here and hereafter; and who fears is humble, who is humble seeks authority and learns to love the authority above him.[3] Authority is constructive, is organizing. Organization, social organization, is by nature nothing else than chronic despotism, which is accepted by some out of love or for the benefit they derive from this despotism, by others out of fear. Progress therefore lies in limiting freedom, not authority.[4]

Leontyeff, however, did a grave injustice to Luther and his church when he claimed for Greek orthodoxy the monopoly of this theory. With the social problems of their days Luther and Melanchthon dealt in very much the same spirit. A prince, Luther preached, remains a prince no matter how tyrannical he may be. Those that he beheads are necessarily few, since he must have subjects in order to be a ruler. A Christian must remember that Christ said: "Resist not evil." The demand for freedom on the part of the peasants outraged Luther's sensitive soul. He found it to be in direct contradiction to the Gospel; for did not Abraham and other prophets have serfs? Besides, it would rob the lords of their serfs, their property! Such a demand, moreover, would make all men

[1] Leontyeff, Vostok, Rossia i Slovianstvo (Moscow, 1885), vol. i, p. 81; vol. ii, p. 41. See also Simkhovitch, "An Interpretation of Russian Autocracy," *The International Quarterly*, October, 1904, pp. 2, 3.

[2] *Ibid.*, vol. ii, p. 48. [3] *Ibid.*, vol. ii, pp. 268, 269. [4] *Ibia.*, vol. ii, p. 288.

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equal. Impossible! An earthly kingdom cannot exist without inequality of persons. Some must be free, others serfs; some rulers, others subjects; as St. Paul says: "Before Christ both master and slave are one." Melanchthon entirely shared Luther's views. If serfdom exists, it should be left alone. The Gospel does not require a change in the serf's condition, but it does require obedience to the government. Concerning the treatment of peasants, Melanchthon thoughtfully observed "that the Germans are such a rough, obstinate, bloody-minded people that they should be treated even more harshly than they are"; and a nobleman who sought Melanchthon's opinion about freeing his peasants from certain burdens received the advice:

> Your lordship should not abolish the old services, and your conscience need not be troubled on this point. Discipline in bodily matters is well-pleasing to God; and if the burdens fall unequally and are too hard, we must remember what St. Paul says: "The powers that be are ordained of God."[1]

It is in this attitude of all the churches that we find the explanation of the curious phenomenon already noted—that all political revolutions in continental Europe were preceded by a general and furious onslaught on church and religion. The church invariably used its authority to sanction and uphold the existing organization of society; the revolution invariably began by undermining the prestige of the church. So it was in France; so it was in Germany; so it was in Russia.

We have seen that in France the existence of classes and class struggles was a commonplace conception; but the French spokesmen of socialism never justified their theories on the basis of class struggle. Their pet theories were not to be for the benefit of a class but for humanity at large; their appeal was addressed not to the laboring class but to the well-meaning and just of all classes. The fact that various classes of society acted politically in accordance with their respective economic interests led the socialists to inveigh against the selfishness of existing society; but the socialist movement itself did not seem

[1] Shapiro, Social Reform and Reformation (1909), pp. 78–83.

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to them a movement actuated by class interest. Such was the situation in France.

In Germany the political radicalism of the forties, for reasons indicated above, expressed itself theoretically in criticism of religion. Ludwig Feuerbach with his *Wesen des Christenthums* swept radical Germany off its feet. His book appealed both to the radical democrats and to the socialists. Without a word about politics, it became in a sense a political platform. No modern reader of the book can see why it should have played such a rôle; but the evidence of its effectiveness is conclusive. Engels tells us: "And then came Feuerbach's 'Wesen des Christenthums' . . . one must have himself experienced the emancipating influence of this book to have a conception of it. The enthusiasm was universal, in a moment we all turned Feuerbachians."[1] Does this mean that they became merely atheists and materialists? No; it was Feuerbach's humanitarian idealism, his love of mankind instead of love of God, his "*homo homini Deus*" and his indirect attack upon state, church and society as constituted in feudal Germany that made converts. Feuerbach himself later acknowledged the political meaning of his work. He wrote in 1846:

> Who has nothing more to say about me than that I am an atheist says and knows of me *nothing*. The question whether a God exists or does not exist, the opposition between theism and atheism belongs to the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, but no longer to the nineteenth. If I am denying God, it means that I am opposing the denial of mankind; it means that instead of a situation full of illusions, instead of a fantastic, heavenly position, which in real life is necessarily accompanied by an actual denial of mankind, I demand Man's sensuous real position, which also necessarily means his political and social position. The question of God's being or not being is with me a question of men's being or not being.[2]

The essence of Christianity has been interpreted as the essence of human nature, which is at present unrealized because of the misdirection of humanity's yearnings. This became the

[1] Engels, Ludwig Feuerbach, pp. 10, 11.

[2] Ludwig Feuerbach, Werke (Leipzig, 1846), vol. i, pp. xiv, xv.

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thesis of German socialism, of which Karl Grün and Moses Hess became the leading exponents. Ludwig Feuerbach's doctrine was to them the Alpha and Omega of all philosophy and of all political science.[1] The problem of socialism was how to make the people conscious of their own instincts of love and righteousness.[2] It was out of the question to divide humanity into classes with different interests; Christianity was the ideal of the people as a whole, an instinct of the human species. All that the German socialists had to do was to show to the humane German people, without distinction of classes and parties, that socialism was the only actual realization of their natural human instincts. The German moreover, was different from the Frenchman and Englishman; he was no narrow-minded party man; he had a soul receptive to theories. To make of the humane German a humanitarian, *i. e.*, a socialist, was only a matter of theoretical argumentation.[3]

While the German socialists were working out their philosophical arguments for a humanitarian socialism, they were rudely surprised by a book of the young German scholar, Lorenz von Stein, famous in later years as a teacher of political science. Stein was a gentleman of conservative leanings, a monarchist and a strict defender of private property, yet he came nearer than any other writer to being the actual forerunner of Karl Marx.[4] In the socialist movement he saw a proletarian class

[1] "Wenn man Feuerbach nennt, so hat man die ganze Arbeit der Philosophie genannt, von Baco von Verulam bis heute, so hat man zugleich gesagt, was die Philosophie in letzter Instanz will und bedeute, so hat man den Menschen als letzte Instanz der Weltgeschichte. Dabei geht man sicherer, weil gründlicher, zu Werke, als wenn man den Arbeitslohn, die Concurrenz, die Mangelhaftigkeit der Constitutionen und Verfassungen aufs Tapet bringt." Karl Grün, "Feuerbach und die Socialisten," Deutsches Bürgerbuch für 1845 (Darmstadt, H. Püttmann, 1844), p. 74.

[2] "Das Volk hat den Instinkt des Richtigen, wir wollen ihm seinen Instinkt zum Bewusstsein bringen." Karl Grün, "Politik und Sozialismus," in Rheinische Jahrbücher zur gesellschaftlichen Reform (Darmstadt, 1845), vol. i, p. 98.

[3] "Der Deutsche ist human von Hause aus, er kennt die engen und bornirten Parteiansichten Frankreichs und Englands nicht; er geht auf jede neue Ansicht bereitwillig ein, er ist ein theoretisches Gemüth. Es geht nur darum, dass der humane Deutsche ein Humanist werde." *Ibid.*, p. 136.

[4] To what extent Stein influenced Marx is an open question. Marx was thoroughly familiar with Stein's work; his articles against Grün in *Das Westphälische Dampfboot*

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movement; in the socialist theory, an inevitable class theory. In spite of its Hegelian phraseology, Stein's work was a realistic interpretation of half a century of French history and political theory.[1] It was the first interpretation of this kind attempted by a German, and it displayed much deeper insight and a far keener analysis than is to be found in the interpretation placed upon the same movement by his brilliant French predecessors. So far as the knowledge of the present writer extends, Stein was the first historian of the fourth estate, the philosopher of its coming revolution, and the only one who dealt with this subject without partiality or bias. Stein might have well said with Spinoza: "*Curavi humanas actiones non ridere, non lugere, neque detestari, sed intelligere*"; and in the effort to understand them Stein was successful.

In the preface to his book, Stein declares that the period of political revolutions is over, but a revolution not less serious is impending. Just as, at the end of the eighteenth century, an estate of the people rebelled against the state, so now a class is working to overthrow society itself. The next revolution can

prove it; but on the other hand Marx in 1844 became acquainted with the same sources, the same French history, the same social struggles, which inspired Stein. In fact Marx corrects Stein in many details, and does not seem conscious of being indebted to Stein in any way. So, in speaking of Grün's history of the social movement in France and Belgium, he remarks: "Man sieht schon hieraus, dass das Grünsche Machwerk weit unter dem Buche von Stein steht, der wenigstens versuchte den Zusammenhang der sozialistischen Literatur mit der wirklichen Entwickelung der französischen Gesellschaft darzustellen." *Das Westphälische Dampfboot*, redigiert von Dr. Otto Lüning, Jahrg. iii (Padeborn, Januar, 1847), p. 446. In the same article, on pages 448, 449, 451, Marx criticizes and corrects various details in Stein's book; and on page 456 he makes the interesting remark: "Stein selbst ist im höchsten Grade konfus, wenn er von einem 'staatlichen Moment in der Wissenschaft der Industrie' spricht. Er zeigt indess, dass er eine richtige Ahnung hatte, indem er zufügt, dass die Geschichte des Staates auf's genaueste zusammenhängt mit der Geschichte der Volkswirtschaft." Here is Marx's first definite suggestion of his economic interpretation of history, and he acknowledges that Stein was on the same track. This article was written in 1846.

[1] An unsigned article, "Der Socialismus in Deutschland," appeared in the *Gegenwart*, Heft 81 (Leipzig, 1852), pp. 517–562. I am quite convinced that this lengthy article was written by Lorenz Stein himself; there is an overwhelming amount of internal evidence for such an assumption. In this article Stein pays to himself very high tribute and greatly exaggerates the political importance of his book, but he does not praise himself sufficiently for his real achievement—his realistic method.

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only be a social revolution.[1] Moreover, it is not France alone that is confronted by this peril. No deep and far-reaching movement belongs exclusively to one nation. Where the general conditions of existence are more or less the same, as they are among the West European nations, the same social movements are bound to manifest themselves with greater or less force.

The first chapter of Stein's book is entitled *Das Proletariat*. The proletariat Stein defines as the class of those who have neither property nor education, but who feel that they should not be without these possessions, which alone lend value to personality. The fate and justification of this class is what socialism and communism have in mind.[2] The first appearance of the proletariat in French politics was as sudden as it was dramatic. Before the Revolution only three classes could be considered, the nobility, the clergy and the third estate, classes represented in the States General. The Revolution broke out; the king and his army surrounded with bayonets the Assembly of Versailles; Paris rose, and the people of Paris compelled the king to treat their representatives as a power. Another attempt was made by the king to regain his power; the people of Paris stormed the palace and the king became their prisoner. Who were these people who defended the National Assembly, imprisoned the king, formed Henriot's guard? Who were the "*tricoteuses*" and the "*aimables faubourgs*"? These were the proletariat of Paris, which thus made its entry upon the stage of French political life, never again to leave the scene.[3] During the eventful years of the Revolution and of the first Republic this proletariat learned two things: it became conscious very promptly of its own importance in everything pertaining to revolution; it also learned gradually to regard itself as a separate class, distinct from all other classes. This twofold knowledge later generations of the Paris proletariat have not forgotten.

[1] Stein, Der Socialismus und Communismus des heutigen Frankreichs (Leipzig, 1842), p. iii. As regards Stein's theory of society and of the state, see Munroe Smith, in POLITICAL SCIENCE QUARTERLY, vol. xvi (1901) pp. 649–656.

[2] Stein, Der Socialismus, p. 7.

[3] *Ibid.*, p. 8.

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Quite the opposite: realizing their power and their distinct interests, they have occupied themselves in working out aims of their own. Thus out of the propertyless, uneducated masses is rising one single-minded, unified social class. You may doubt its justification, you can not doubt its power. This is the new element in French society, which may very properly be called a dangerous element; dangerous on account of its numbers as well as its tested courage; dangerous because of its consciousness of unity and of its feeling that only through revolution can its aims be reached, its plans accomplished.[1]

Further on Stein explains that the "poor" and the "proletarian" are widely differing conceptions; that from time immemorial society has been divided into rich and poor, but that the proletarian belongs to the history of our own times exclusively. In our own days therefore we shall see the development of the significance of this class. That is the point of view from which Stein looked upon France's social movement and its theories. He was not preaching any doctrine, he was calling attention to a fact; but this fact was the opening of the proletarian class struggle.[2]

Stein's book was very annoying to the German socialists, with their Feuerbachian doctrines and their belief in the humanitarian instincts of mankind. Thus Hess, without naming Stein, refers to him as a spiritual plebeian, who explains the origin of socialism by the needs of the stomach, because he himself probably never felt other and higher necessities.[3] In an earlier criticism Hess accuses Stein of being realistic. Of course such simple words as "realistic" were not used in those days by

[1] "Das ist jenes neue Element, das mitten in die Gesellschaft Frankreichs hingestellt, wohl ein gefährliches genannt werden darf; gefährlich durch seine Zahl und seinen oft bewiesenen Muth, gefährlich durch das Bewusstsein seiner Einheit, gefährlich endlich durch das Gefühl, dass es nur durch Revolution zur Verwirklichung seiner Pläne gelangen kann." Stein, Der Socialismus, p. 9. That was written six years before the Communist Manifesto!

[2] The importance of Stein as forerunner of Marx was pointed out first by Peter von Struve in his article "Zur Entwickelungsgeschichte des wissenschaftlichen Sozialismus," *Neue Zeit*, Jahrg. xv (1897), vol. ii, pp. 228–235, 269–275.

[3] M. Hess, "Ueber die sozialistische Bewegung in Deutschland," in Neue Anekdota, herausgegeben von Karl Grün (Darmstadt, 1845), p. 226.

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German scholars. A tear on the cheek of his sweetheart would probably have been called, by a learned German of those days, not a tear but a manifestation of the substantialization of the Category of the Tragic. Stein, accordingly, is not described as a "realist" but is accused of being too feeble so to mould reality as to make it fit his own self-consciousness, for which reason he so moulds his consciousness as to fit the low and base realities of existence.[1] According to Hess, Stein did not understand the socialist movement at all[2]; all he sees in socialism is its relation to the proletariat.[3] But after all, reasons Hess, Stein's limitations result from his being an Hegelian and not being an atheist. One so handicapped could not possibly grasp the positive meaning of socialism: he could see only its negative and destructive tendencies.[4] Equally harsh is Karl Grün. To him the idea that the proletariat is a separate class of society and that the economic conditions are responsible for socialism seems imbecile (*schwachsinnig*). No! Socialism is religion, religion that has become practical, *etc.*[5]

Stein's class-struggle theory obviously made an impression on Germany, because again and again Hess and Grün felt themselves forced to defend the good character of humanity at large and of Germany in particular. In the preface to *The Social Conditions of the Civilized World*, Hess gives us *in nuce* his theory on the subject. He tells us that no single class of society nor this nor that form of government is responsible for the evils from which we are suffering. No class of society is so heartless as to leave its fellowmen in misery, were there means at its disposal to make all men happy. We see daily in the well-to-do class attempts to better the social conditions. The responsibility for all social evils is to be sought in lack of insight. The best proof against any class theory is the fact that, after two years of discussion, Germany's educated and well-to-

[1] (Hess) "Socialismus und Communismus," in Ein und zwanzig Bogen aus der Schweiz, herausgegeben von Georg Herwegh (Zürich und Winterthur, 1843), p. 75.

[2] *Ibid.*, p. 83. [3] *Ibid.*, p. 85.

[4] *Ibid.*, p. 91.

[5] Karl Grün, Neue Anekdota (Darmstadt, 1845), pp. 262, 263.

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do people are in the main already in accord with the have-nots in France.[1]

The German philosophical socialists were without exception insignificant people, and their theories were of little consequence one way or another, but on the eve of the outbreak of 1848 they sounded a shrill note of discord. These quasi-radicals, peddling atheism and preaching a love-feast of mankind, declared themselves indifferent to political reform and to representative government. And it was this circumstance that brought down upon their heads Marx with all his fury and with his *Communist Manifesto*.

Just as they copied Feuerbach (whose avowed aim, however, was a political one), so they proceeded to copy certain phrases of the French socialists. In France the people had a constitutional form of government, and for that reason they could afford to sneer at constitutional government or make jokes about it. Nobody could take away from them their political liberties; they could therefore abuse these liberties in their socialist propagandist literature as much as they pleased. In

[1] "Indem wir hiermit eine getreue Schilderung der gesellschaftlichen Zustände aller civilisirter Länder eröffnen, gehen wir dabei von der festen Ueberzeugung aus, dass weder einzelne Klassen unserer Gesellschaft, z. B. die Klasse der Besitzer, noch auch diese oder jene Regierungsform, am allerwenigsten die menschliche Natur die Grundursache der vielfachen Uebelstände ist, unter deren Last wir seufzen. Denn keine Klasse der Gesellschaft würde so herzlos sein ihre Mitmenschen im Elende zu lassen, stände ihr ein Mittel zu Gebote, alle ihre Mitmenschen glücklich zu machen. Erleben wir ja täglich, dass gerade unter der *Klasse der Besitzenden*, ohne Zweifel deshalb, weil sie zugleich die *gebildete* ist, die Versuche, unsere gesellschaftlichen Zustände gründlich zu verbessern, den tiefsten Anklang, die regste Teilnahme finden; und wenn sich bis jetzt in unserem Vaterlande die vom Glücke minder begünstigten ärmeren Volksklassen weniger um Verbesserung unserer Zustände kümmern, so ist es von ihnen doch wahrlich kein böser Wille, sondern lediglich Mangel an Einsicht, was sie abhält sich mit einer so würdigen Aufgabe zu befassen, welche vor allen Dingen ja gerade ihr eigenes Loos zu mildern strebt . . . Ist aber nicht gerade dieser Umstand, dass die besitzende Klasse in Deutschland, nachdem sie sich kaum zwei Jahre mit der gesellschaftlichen Frage beschäftigt hat, schon mit der besitzlosen in Frankreich im ganzen und der Hauptsache nach übereinstimmt, dass sie gleich lebhaft und gleich gründlich von der socialen Bewegung erfasst wird—ist das nicht Beweis genug dafür, dass weder diese noch jene Klasse der Gesellschaft die Ursache des Bestandes und Fortbestandes unserer vielfachen socialen Uebelstände ist?" Die gesellschaftlichen Zustände der civilisirten Welt, herausgegeben von M. Hess (Elberfeld und Iserlohn, Julius Bädeker, 1846), vol. i, pp. 1, 2.

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Germany the situation was different. In Germany those who talked and wrote about a constitutional form of government were engaged in a discussion *de lege ferenda* and not *de lege lata*; and French socialistic phrases on the subject were, from a campaign point of view, very much out of place. In fact, those who repeated them were playing into the hands of the reaction. Yet we hear Grün asking: Who demands a constitution in Prussia? and answering: The Liberals. But, he continues, the Liberals are not the people. These are a few men of property and some writers. Under a constitution the will of a small minority only will rule—the minority which represents the vested interests. If the Silesian proletariat were self-conscious it would have petitioned against a constitution. But since that proletariat is not self-conscious, we are acting in its name, we are protesting against a constitution.[1] Arnold Ruge, one of the leading democratic writers of the time, represents Hess as declaring that all the talk about a republic, a jury system and a free press is nonsense; that it only leads to the tyranny of the property-holders over the majority of mankind.[2] Hess himself tells us that he is disgusted with the liberal political aspirations, and that he is disposed to trust the heart of a Prussian monarch rather than a French Chamber of Deputies.[3] Thus German

[1] Unter einer Konstitution herrscht das Gesetz, der Scharfrichter, der den Willen einer kleinen Minderzahl exekutirt, während dieselbe Minderzahl sich den künstlichen Schein zu geben weiss, als sei sie die unendliche Majorität, ja die Allheit des Landes. Hätte das schlesische Proletariat ein Bewusstsein, und entspräche diesem Bewusstsein ein bestehendes Recht, so müsste es gegen die Konstitution petitioniren. Das Proletariat hat dazu weder Bewusstsein noch Recht; wir handeln also in seinen Namen. Wir protestiren." K. Grün, "Politik und Sozialismus," in Rheinische Jahrbücher zur gesellschaftlichen Reform (Darmstadt, 1845), vol. i, p. 100.

[2] "Das Gerede von Freiheit und politischen Reformen ist abgenutzt. Mit der Republik, den Geschworenen, der freien Presse kommt man immer nicht weiter, als zur Tyrannei der Besitzenden und zur Sklaverei der Mehrheit. Alle, auch de radicalsten politischen Reformen sind ohnmächtig gegen die Grundübel der Gesellschaft und interessiren die Welt nicht mehr. Der Inhalt alles und jedes Interesses ist die Socialreform." Arnold Ruge, Werke (2d ed., Manheim, 1848), vol. v, p. 39.

[3] "Oder hat Preussens Monarch weniger Herz für das Elend der ärmeren Volksklassen gezeigt als Frankreichs Deputirtenkammer und der König der Franzosen? Wir sind durch Thatsachen so sehr vom Gegentheil *überwiesen*, durch Nachdenken über die wahren und letzten Ursachen unseres gesellschaftlichen Elends so sehr *überzeugt*, dass uns alle politisch-liberalen Bestrebungen mehr als gleichgültig, förm-

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philosophical socialism had ceased to be harmless nonsense, it had actually become politically reactionary—a circumstance which did not endear its advocates and their theories to Marx or to Engels.

Marx started as a revolutionary democrat, and he remained first and last a philosopher of revolution. Not a phrasemonger but a profound dialectician, he was forced to abandon abstract Germany. In Paris, treading those hot pavements on which the revolution of 1848 was hatching, breathing a heavy storm-laden air, he studied the social movement. There he found what his soul was craving: not logical antitheses, but classes struggling, moving and making history. Was it a momentary blaze, a people in fever? But even so, when the people have such a fever it is the king who dies. But no, it was no casual outburst. Nothing is accidental in history. Inevitable is history's majestic course; it moves "*nach ewigen, ehernen, grossen Gesetzen*," the key to which Marx felt in his hand. The power, it seemed to him, was already in the hands of that class to which his heart was so strongly drawn. Then why not proclaim it, why not organize the millions of suffering humanity in the name of class struggle? Why this talk about love and justice? Why obscure the issue just at the moment when a clear insight was needed? Why not tell the *bourgeoisie* that the proletariat will do to them just what they have done to feudalism, with the same right and the same necessity? Thus Marx entered the scene, carrying to their ultimate conclusion the class-struggle ideas of the French and trampling at the same time upon the various philosophical brands of home-made German socialism.

(*To be continued.*)

VLADIMIR G. SIMKHOVITCH.

lich zum Ekel geworden sind. Einen moralischen Ekel muss jener politische Liberalismus erregen, wenn man ihm angesichts des geistigen und leiblichen Elendes der arbeitenden Volksklassen . . . noch immer seine Illusionen verfolgen . . . sieht." Hess, Die gesellschaftlichen Zustände der civilisierten Welt, p. 2.

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OUR SOUTH AMERICAN TRADE

AS a means of acquiring and spreading information about distant lands there is nothing so effective as commerce. Such a statement may be the expression of a truism, but for the purposes of the present article it is one worth emphasizing. In the backwardness of the trade of the United States with the several republics of South America lies the reason for most of our ignorance about them. To the growth and prosperity of those republics foreign capital and foreign immigration are quite as indispensable as they have been to our own national development. This is another truism that has its value. The results of private investigation, the reports of consuls and other public agents and the series of publications issued by the South American governments themselves have described the resources of their respective territories and have indicated the facilities offered to foreign enterprise so elaborately as to make the demand for capital and immigration known. On the other hand, the actual experience gained in the work of introducing these factors of progress has brought with it something more than pecuniary profits. It has conferred a benefit upon the South American countries in helping to remove the obstacles that have checked their national advancement. In this process the United States is peculiarly fitted to play an important rôle. Why our energies have been employed elsewhere, and how they may be turned in due measure to the southern continent, are but special phases of the general problem.

From the standpoint of relatively undeveloped resources, the conditions prevailing in the republics of South America bear a much closer resemblance to those found in the United States than they do to the economic circumstances of the majority of the European countries. As we have made our resources abundantly fruitful, so have we evolved an attitude of mind and a number of ideas, practices and institutions that may be said to characterize us as a nation. A due enlargement of trade relations with our South American neighbors would afford the

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opportunity for a corresponding extension among them of whatever has been of value in our social, economic, intellectual and political training. Should we be able, indeed, to work out and to apply the qualities and methods needful for the accomplishment of so useful an object, the South Americans on their part might learn to trust the United States more fully and to foster the cause of Pan-Americanism more actively than is now the case.

With this broader view of the bearings of our South American trade in mind, an elementary study of it may conveniently begin with an account of the commercial situation in the continent at large. Then the special circumstances, the national policies, the individual traits and the business methods of the peoples of Europe who are chiefly concerned in the economic development of South America will be described and incidentally compared with the corresponding characteristics, in these respects, of the people of the United States. From each of these sources in turn certain general causes of our failure to obtain thus far our due share in the trade of the southern continent will be brought out. Lastly, an attempt will be made to show how our trade with South America may be enlarged. In the account that follows, however, no concrete examples will be furnished of the lines of American goods for which a demand exists, or might be created, in South American markets; nor will any comparison be offered between the prices of American and those of European products. Matters of this kind require a technical treatment such as a business expert alone may give. A discussion of them would hardly fall within the scope of an article which proposes simply to emphasize a number of primary reasons for the backwardness of our trade with South America and to put forth certain suggestions for its improvement. The bases upon which the several statements rest are derived in part from opinions expressed by South Americans themselves, as well as by American exporters alive to the situation, and in part from personal observations made by the writer during the course of recent visits to the principal countries of the southern continent.

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It needs but a glance at statistics to show that the main currents of South American trade flow east and west, to and from Europe and not to and from the United States. While the total commerce of the several countries of the southern continent exceeds one billion three hundred million dollars a year, the share of the United States in that commerce is less than one-sixth. Our exports to South America fall short of our imports by upwards of seventy million dollars, and constitute only about four and a half per cent of our total exports. For the existence of this trend of traffic adverse to us, the circumstances of geographical position, habits of association and the nature of many of the commodities exported from that continent are all responsible. The countries extending along the east coast face Europe and lie practically as near to it as to the United States. Advantages of location, strengthened by favorable conditions of climate and soil, have made their relations with the old world very close. The republics on the Pacific side of the continent are also quite as near to Europe as to the United States. Shut off in great measure by the wall of the Andes and prevented by other obstacles from attaining so rapid a development as the states to the eastward, they have come to be even more dependent upon their European connections. Nor has the communication recently established between Asia and the west coast of South America by means of a Japanese line of steamships led as yet to any marked change in the customary eastward direction of the west-coast trade. Even in the case of the two northern republics, Colombia and Venezuela, which lie nearer to the United States than to Europe, the commercial advantages thus afforded us have been largely offset, as we shall see, by the operation of other forces. Furthermore, it should be remembered that the population of the several republics has been greatly increased by immigration from Europe. Familiar with the products of their native lands, the newcomers naturally prefer such products to articles brought from other countries and maintain a constant demand for them, unless powerful inducements to the contrary are made effective. The South American states, finally, export great quantities of mining and agricultural products similar to those which form the chief ele-

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ments in our own export trade. Since these products find in Europe the ready market which they cannot possibly secure in the United States, it follows, as a foregone conclusion, that where the goods are sold corresponding purchases will be made.

This topic of the trend of South American trade suggests a brief account of the transportation system upon which it depends. Along the north coast of the continent, along the east coast between Pará and Buenos Ayres, and on rivers like the Amazon, the La Plata and the Paraná, the shipping facilities, in the main, are satisfactory. On the west coast the service is not so good. Until recently it was furnished chiefly by two lines of steamers, one British, the other Chilean. The companies owning them had in operation an agreement that fixed the sailing schedules and the freight and passenger rates. Of these arrangements it need only be said that the former was about as much honored in the breach as the latter in the observance. The steadily growing competition of the German "Kosmos Line," however, has now put the Chilean line out of business and seriously threatens the traffic of the British line.

On land the system of transportation in South America, taking the continent as a whole, is quite defective. In many of the mountainous and tropical regions of the interior and even in some portions of the low-lying, temperate areas of the south, railways are practically non-existent. Only the Argentine Republic, Chile and certain parts of eastern and southern Brazil possess anything like railway systems. Even these are insignificant in extension when compared with the huge areas yet to be covered. The transcontinental railway through the Argentine Republic and Chile awaits the completion of the tunnel under the Andes, and, except for the lines running from those countries and from Peru into Bolivia, there are no international lines whatever. All the other railways on the continent are short lines, stretching from the seaports a few miles into the interior. The result is that throughout most of South America the modes of overland transportation are as primitive as they were in colonial days. Pack animals, ox-carts and human carriers have to be brought into requisition. Though the rate of speed is necessarily very slow, the carrying capacity in one

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form or another is surprisingly great. Almost any article from a piano to a two-ton telescope can be borne through the jungles and up the steep mountain-passes. So far as the pack animals themselves are concerned, the usual limit of the burden which can be borne by an ox is 400 pounds, and of that which can be placed on a mule, 250 pounds. A donkey or a llama will carry from 100 to 150 pounds. This, however, does not mean dead weight. On the contrary, the load has to be put up and adjusted so that about one-half of it will fall on either side of the animal. When the object is too heavy or too unwieldy for the beasts of burden to carry, it is slung on poles and borne on the backs of men.

Any needless deviation, therefore, from the rule of packing and adjustment by reason of weight or size means a corresponding increase both in the difficulties of transportation and in the freight charges. Assuming that the goods are in proper form and are entrusted to experienced freighters, the risk of loss or injury is not so imminent as it might seem. The very existence of the risk, nevertheless, adds materially to the insurance rates; and in all cases the freights charged for such primitive modes of carriage, to say nothing of those exacted by the vessels plying on many of the rivers of South America, are bound to be far in excess of what is demanded for transportation by sea.

Turning now to a description of the customs regulations, it should be said that the duties levied in South American ports are more commonly specific than *ad valorem*, the weight being determined strictly in accordance with the metric system. The tariff schedules themselves are often complicated and, unless followed very carefully, may cause articles to be taxed much higher than the class to which they properly belong. Special duties or surtaxes are levied at times on certain commodities, even though such duties may not be mentioned in the schedules directly under the technical headings of the goods in question. Some classes of merchandise, like oil and its products, lumber, machinery, construction material and agricultural implements, which are imported regularly and in large quantities, are not so subject as other goods to delays and hazards at the port of entry. Besides the import duties as such, there are certain

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other charges to be met, as, for example, port, dock and warehouse dues, the cost of cartage and fees for chemical analyses. Each of these naturally has to be considered with reference to the regulations prevailing in the state concerned. Still, after the entire expense of bringing the goods into the country is figured up, the total is rarely excessive.

Regarding the commercial attitude and business usages of the South Americans, it must be admitted that in all of the republics certain classes of persons are to be found who, actuated by the old, familiar spirit of "knownothingism," view with disfavor and apprehension the introduction of foreign capital and the inpouring of European immigrants. The entrance of large amounts of capital from the United States in particular, these persons appear to think, might afford an easy pretext for armed intervention on the part of the "Colossus of the North," whenever its schemes of territorial expansion bring the countries of South America within their scope. Prepossessions of this sort, however, are not commonly influential. On the contrary, a marked desire for the introduction of American capital exists in practically all of the republics. Not only is its value for the purpose of developing natural resources well understood, but there is also a shrewd notion afoot of the additional benefit that would proceed from a cheapening of capital were the American commodity to be placed in effective competition with the British and the German. On the other hand, the general principle of competition, as applied in particular to the sale of foreign goods, either purchased outright or sold on commission, is not so warmly welcomed by the average business house in South America. Accordingly, when it undertakes to handle such goods, it is apt to demand an exclusive right to their sale and looks askance at any attempt to supply a competitor with the same products.

That the great industrial and commercial enterprises of the southern continent are controlled almost exclusively by Europeans and Americans is a circumstance not due altogether to the fact that the capital required for their initiation and development has come from outside of South America itself. Viewed as a whole, the South Americans, whatever their nation-

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ality, lack the business instinct of the Americans, the Germans and the English. Some of the more prominent mercantile houses are familiar enough with modern methods. Close students of their European masters and willing to learn from Americans as well, the members of such firms strengthen their acquaintance with the present requirements of business by visiting the trade centers of Europe and the United States. The average South American merchant, however, is cautious and conservative, after the manner of his Spanish or Portuguese ancestors. Invariably courteous in his bearing and often formal and punctilious to a degree, he expects a like treatment in return. He is not quick to perceive the advantage involved in buying an article that has the element of novelty as its chief recommendation. Instead, he is disposed to prefer that which he knows by long-continued usage, and when the familiar article is brought from abroad he wants it precisely in the form to which he is accustomed.

Among South American business men, furthermore, promises of performance on the morrow that is long in coming are apt to be frequent. They recall the phrase of the witty Frenchman, who remarked that the only Spanish expression which was more common than *mañana* (tomorrow) was *pasado mañana* (day after tomorrow). So far as such promises refer to payments and to credits, ancestral tradition is not alone responsible for the slowness of the one or for the length of time demanded in the case of the other. The circumstance itself is not unusual in countries relatively undeveloped, where there may be an abundance of natural products accompanied by a scarcity of ready money to meet demands on short notice.

The several practices under discussion have incited the charge, so often heard in the United States, that the rank and file of South American business men, if not positively dishonest, are at least as dilatory and unprogressive as the governments of their respective countries are unstable and corrupt. Pure ignorance, of course, has something to do with fomenting this charge, but it is based mainly on the assertions of two classes of Americans. The first is made up of those who have failed in some enterprise of dubious virtue, and who then proceed to

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publish rancorous articles or books about the alleged ill-treatment that they have received. The second class is represented by a few great business houses which control the bulk of our export trade to South America. Handling this trade with all the skill that it demands, and hence free from the faults to which attention will later be called, they frighten away possible competitors by availing themselves of favorable opportunities to exaggerate the difficulties that lie in the way of its extension.

From this sketch of the commercial conditions prevailing in South America as a whole, let us turn to an examination of the circumstances peculiar to certain of the European states, which have induced and enabled these states to develop so fully their trade relations with that continent. It is well known that the chief competitors of the United States in the commerce of South America are Germany and Great Britain. These countries opened their markets in that part of the world at a time when we were devoting our energies to the development of the enormous resources of our own land, and later they spread those markets industriously while we were busied in promoting our trade with Europe and Asia. Germany and Great Britain, therefore, had the good fortune of being first on the ground. They possessed and, to a large extent, still possess another signal advantage over us, namely, an abundance of comparatively cheap labor, which enables them to keep the prices of their commodities proportionately low. Having huge populations to sustain within very limited areas, their natural resources have undergone practically as much exploitation as they will bear. Accordingly, in the absence of business opportunities at home, thousands of Germans and Englishmen are compelled to emigrate. The impulse affects those of mediocre capacity, who may be content to struggle along as they are, far less than it does the men whose talents are commensurate with their ambitions. As a rule, therefore, the Germans and the Englishmen who engage in foreign trade are those best fitted to cope with new conditions in other parts of the world, and their migration is bound to continue so long as the situation in their respective countries, and the success attending their activities in South America or elsewhere, demand it.

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Germany and Great Britain, furthermore, are primarily manufacturing nations. Neither of them is able to produce food and other commodities in quantities sufficient for home consumption or raw material enough to supply its mills and factories. On the other hand the output of their manufacturing industries is greatly in excess of the domestic consumption. It follows that both states have to seek foreign markets and that, in order to secure them, special means must be employed to facilitate the processes of export and import.

Circumstances like these explain why Germany and Great Britain have developed so largely their instrumentalities of traffic with South America. They have built steamships and sailing vessels; they have established banks and increased the postal conveniences; they have invested capital in countless industrial concerns, of which mining, railways, street traction, light and power plants, water works and manufacturing establishments are but a few examples; and their purely mercantile enterprises are legion. At the same time their tariff schedules and their navigation laws, as well as their business habits, have undergone modification to meet the exigencies of the South American market and to satisfy both the needs and the demands of the South American customer. Naturally enough all this has served to win the confidence of the South American and to imbue him with a conviction that the European merchants are sincerely interested in his welfare.

That precisely the reverse of the conditions which prevail in Germany and in Great Britain obtains generally in the United States requires no lengthy explanation. Our own trade currents, like those of South America, have flowed east and west. We have watched with satisfaction the American "invasion" of both Europe and Asia, and, in proportion as the sale of our commodities has netted a fair amount of profit, we have fostered our business interests in those continents. Favored with astounding success eastward and westward and enjoying a huge and lucrative market at home, we have become relatively oblivious to the fact that the trade of a great region to the southward is falling a prey to the European "invader." Indeed, we

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appear to think that the United States has no particular need of South American commerce. Our disbelief in this respect finds expression in the oft-repeated assertion: "Whenever we want the trade of South America, we can easily get it." Unmindful of the lesson of the recent financial disturbance, the depression of which might have been greatly lightened, if not offset, by adequate foreign markets, we are content to bide our time until, in order to forestall the consequences of overproduction, we shall be compelled to seek an outlet in the southern continent. That before such a situation arises the market in that quarter may be preëmpted, we are loth to believe possible.

Despite the fact that the sources of information on South American trade conditions are more ample in the United States than in the countries of any of our European competitors, they are frequently ignored. Reports and compilations of consuls and special agents are sent out in abundant quantities by the national government only to be thrown aside. A like treatment befalls the material offered by the International Bureau of the American Republics at Washington. Our average business man rarely glances at the monthly bulletins issued by that office and seldom avails himself of the information which it supplies. Whether the Division of Latin American Affairs recently established in the Department of State will fare any better than the official agencies already existing remains to be seen. It is very difficult, furthermore, to induce American clerks and salesmen to accept positions in South America. While a young German or a young Englishman of fair ability is willing to go there for a salary of a thousand dollars a year, a young American who is similarly qualified would demand double that sum, so great are the advantages offered at home or in some other part of the world where our trade may be flourishing. For this reason American firms doing business in South America are often forced to secure employees of German or of English birth.

By many persons in the United States it is believed that our protective tariff and our navigation laws constitute the chief obstacles in the way of a proper development of our South American trade. They assert that the tariff regulations tend practically to exclude from this country many of the staple pro-

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ducts of the southern continent which otherwise might find a market here. From such exclusion three injurious consequences proceed. The first is an appreciable lessening of the amount of return cargoes—a circumstance which deprives the South American exporter of the opportunity of paying for his imports from the United States in kind. The second is the creation among South Americans of a prejudice against the use of our goods, which has the effect necessarily of increasing the demand for European commodities. The third consequence is the diversion of South American products to Europe, where the tariff bars are not so high or do not exist at all. To the extent that we need these products, therefore, we are compelled to purchase them at advanced prices in European markets. Other critics there are who point to the fact that practically all the European steamship lines engaged in South American trade are subsidized in one form or another by their respective governments. They assert, also, that the navigation laws of the United States, as now applied, tend to discourage the construction of vessels that might carry on commerce under the American flag, might supply what is felt to be a lack of shipping facilities between this country and South America and might reduce the transportation charges levied by the Europeans who actually control the traffic.

One often hears the further complaint that, owing to the total lack of American banks in South America, the business enterprises of our citizens there are financially at the mercy of branches of European banking houses, which naturally favor the trade of their parent countries against our own. Since payments are made by drafts on European banks, the American seller is not sufficiently protected against the fluctuations of the South American money markets, and he may be subject besides to excessive charges for any services rendered. The fact is emphasized, also, that with several of the southern republics the United States has no arrangement for the issue of postal money orders. Accordingly the inhabitant of any of these republics who wishes to order any article from the United States has to make payment through a European agency. The delay and the expense connected with such a transaction, it would seem, must tend to discourage the purchase of American goods.

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On behalf of those who uphold these views it can hardly be denied that European banks and European ships, the former by exchange and the latter by freight charges, collect a constant percentage on our South American trade, some of which percentage might be diverted to our own shores. That the great majority, also, of the vessels carrying American goods to the southern continent sail under European flags, and that the foreign banks which finance American business operations there are European corporations, are matters worthy, no doubt, of public attention. All these themes, however, involve considerations too elaborate for the limits of what is intended to be merely a general survey of the whole question. They are mentioned here in order to show the necessity for a scientific study of the tariff policy, the navigation laws and the financial facilities of the United States, as compared with those maintained by our chief European competitors. Then it will be possible to determine the extent to which these factors may be influential in retarding the development of our South American trade.

The most powerful competitor with whom the United States has to reckon in the furtherance of its commercial relations with South America is the German. If he was a dangerous adversary before, he is more so now that our new tariff has increased the difficulties of German exportation to this country. For the disadvantage thus entailed he is bound to seek compensation in other markets, and of these the South American is the most promising. Our British competitor there is much less formidable. Perhaps, indeed, no phase of the recent economic progress of the southern republics is more remarkable than the extent to which German influence and German capital are undermining the position that British trade and enterprise have long enjoyed. In a number of cases the names of the firms or corporations concerned may remain British, but the practical strength that they possess is German. It may be that British capital in general is as fluid in quality and abundant in quantity as the German commodity is fixed and insufficient, and that the bulk of the foreign capital actually invested in South America is still British in origin, but the application and control of it are coming steadily into German hands.

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By the South Americans themselves it is often said that of the chief groups of foreigners engaged in trade among them, none displays so much business ability as the German and none so little as the American. The thrift and industry of the typical German are of course too proverbial to need comment. Attention should be directed rather to certain other characteristics that distinguish his operations in the southern republics, and, it might be added, elsewhere in the world as well. Though strikingly exemplified in Brazil, the Argentine Republic, Chile and Peru, where approximately a million native-born Germans or descendants of Germans are settled and act as promoters of the commercial ambitions of the Fatherland, the qualities in question may be studied to advantage in every spot on the continent to which the ubiquitous German has betaken himself.

No intelligent German, be it said, would ever think of migrating to South America before he has acquired a practical knowledge of his special line of business and has acquainted himself, as thoroughly as may be possible in advance, with the language of the country, its customs, its needs and its economic conditions in general. He learns also the languages of his principal competitors in that market. Provided with the ample training that the admirable German schools of commerce afford and gifted with an unusual degree of adaptiveness, he fits readily into his new surroundings. Tactful and complaisant as regards native sympathies and prejudices, even if he can win no more than the respect of his neighbors he yet avoids anything that might provoke their antagonism. Rather than hold himself socially aloof he will marry into a native family; but although he may identify himself in this or in other respects with the interests of the country, he prudently abstains from undue participation in its politics. For the purpose of increasing his intellectual stock in trade, the German investigates with patient care all phases of the commercial and industrial situation which may be of service to him, not hesitating, if it seem necessary, to visit the remotest sections of the country. Then, after all the requirements of caution and deliberation are satisfied, he locates his business, or places his investment, with a degree of shrewdness that does him credit.

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The commercial instinct of the Germans is firmly rooted. Time was when the English were known as the nation of shopkeepers, equipped with all the obsequious arts that distinguish the craft. Now the title seems to be passing to the Germans. Not content, however, with his ability to please his customers and to keep their patronage, the German merchant strives constantly to improve on the ways and means of doing business which he has learned on his native soil or has acquired in his adopted country. From time to time he travels to the lands of his principal foreign competitors, where he masters the secrets of their trade and manufacture. Returning to the scene of his business, he carefully combines the knowledge he has thus obtained with his own practical skill so as to meet the demands of his clients more successfully than ever. In the matter of imitation the German takes rank with the Japanese. To give his customers just what they want, and not what he thinks that they ought to buy, is one of his business ideals. The materials of which the goods are made may be of inferior quality, but they correspond pretty closely to the demands of local taste. Whenever native appreciation rises to a point where better materials are desired, the German manufacturer improves his materials. On the other hand, unlike some of his competitors, he does not assume that the mere reputation of German goods, or the utterance of the talismanic words "made in Germany," will be sufficient to insure an immediate sale. Instead of showing catalogues, the German salesman shows the articles themselves, and he is always prepared to give a practical demonstration of their value and, if necessary, of the way in which they should be used. Should it be impossible to keep certain lines of goods in stock, he has in their stead a series of samples or models, the completeness of which reminds one of the display in a New York department store. The result is that the prospective buyer has before him an assortment to choose from about as large as he would have in the very districts where the goods are produced. Finally, if his patrons so desire, the German grants them a liberal credit in the form and for the period to which they are accustomed.

This description of German characteristics, shown particularly

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in connection with South American trade, suggests, by way of contrast, an account of certain traits and practices too often typical of his American rival. Leaving out of consideration the few great exporting houses of the United States, to which allusion has already been made, we find among the business men of this country, as well as among the people at large, three false notions which check the growth of our South American commerce beyond the limits to which it has been carried by the big firms in question.

The first of these notions is that the inhabitants of South America are scarcely half civilized. Not infrequently the American capitalist declines to invest his money in South American enterprises because he believes that it will not be protected. If as a nation we knew more about that continent and its peoples, the injustice of such an attitude of mind would be apparent enough. British and German capitalists encounter no special difficulty in securing profitable returns from their investments, and they do so without invoking the aid of warships and without conniving at revolutions. On the other hand it is a fact too well-known to need comment that the corrupt conduct of Americans in many parts of the southern continent has served to injure the good name of the United States and to awaken a corresponding distrust of us in the minds of the South Americans themselves.

The second false notion is that the American way of doing business is necessarily the best in the world. Self-complacency and a sort of careless, good-humored condescension toward our European competitors have been converted, it would seem, by a decade or two of brilliant commercial success, into something approaching a national obsession. In common with this spirit are the ideas, first, that if the South Americans want our goods they should simply send for them, and second, that anything will do for South America. Both ideas are responsible for much of the prejudice existing in that continent against the use of our products. If orders are received from South America, the American manufacturer too often ignores them or ships something not desired. He may not dispatch goods which he knows to be inferior, as has been charged against him, but not

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infrequently he is slow about filling orders and careless or indifferent about returning articles, especially parts of machinery, sent to him for repair or replacement. The result of such a procedure is that no more orders will be received from the South American merchant so treated, although there may be a good market for the commodities in question.

Granting, however, that the American exporter does heed the orders that come to him, certain further defects in our trade with South America now come into view. They appear in two main forms. One of these is the unwillingness of the American manufacturer to alter what may meet the needs of his customers at home in such a manner as to satisfy the requirements of the South American purchaser. The other is his failure to safeguard his consignments against injury in transit. A recital of the defects themselves must involve a retelling of the old story of unintelligent packing; but, like many other old stories, it may serve a good purpose by repetition. Not "once upon a time," therefore, but on numerous occasions, be it said, goods sent from the United States have been packed in shapes, sizes and measures and in weights and quantities unusual in South America. Pounds, quarts and yards have no place in countries where the metric system prevails. Too frequently does it happen that the American exporter takes out an insufficient amount of insurance on his goods. He does not mark the articles shipped as carefully as he should. The indications as to form, size, contents and the like are apt to be omitted from the labels or erroneously stated or wrongly placed, and the actual addresses of the consignees incorrectly given or so poorly put on as to become obliterated before the goods arrive at their destination,

These defects, however, are on the whole less serious than the careless fashion in which American commodities are often prepared for shipment. It must be remembered that, before they reach their destination, packages are liable to a great deal of knocking-about in the course of transportation by ocean-going vessel, lighter, river-steamboat, railway, ox-cart, beast of burden and human carrier. Their possible exposure, also, to hot and moist temperatures may easily work damage both to

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covering and to contents. Nevertheless huge boxes, flimsily constructed of thin boards and unprovided with iron straps or other means of security, are filled with heavy merchandise and dispatched to some point in South America only to be broken open, either accidentally in the varied processes of transportation, or intentionally by thieving freight-handlers. Should a machine, for example, be badly packed, it is likely to be converted into a heap of scrap-iron by the time that it arrives at its place of consignment. Or should any one of the parts of a machine be lost in transit, the South American importers themselves are apt to know so little about the rest of it that they cannot describe the missing piece and hence do not send for a duplicate. Not only is the machine in question rendered useless, but the annoyance and the pecuniary loss suffered by the purchaser make its further introduction into that region quite improbable. At times, also, the box or case is too large or too heavy. It is quite possible to crate some big machine or other weighty object whole and to put it aboard a vessel bound for South America just as if it were being sent to any part of the United States, but if the commodity is consigned to a point in the interior of that continent, the freight charges may roll up so enormously as to render its importation altogether unprofitable. On the assumption, furthermore, that solidity of packing means a corresponding increase in strength, some American shippers make their packages in general too heavy. This insures a substantial addition to the income of the South American states from their import duties, but it has no other advantage.

Given the qualities accredited to the American business man, his failure to exhibit them in South America seems rather remarkable. Unmindful of the difference in speech, he often answers in English letters of inquiry addressed to him in some other language, and also sends to his correspondent elaborately illustrated catalogues printed in English. Neither the reply nor the catalogue is likely to accomplish any good. Again, instead of using South American newspapers and magazines for the purpose, the American exporter commits the fault of advertising in certain periodicals printed in Spanish and published in

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the United States, the circulation of which is chiefly among the American advertisers themselves. Diligent inquiry among business men in South America shows that such journals, even when they have been heard of, are seldom, if ever, looked at. The American proprietor of patent medicines, on the other hand, is wiser. He has learned to proclaim the extraordinary virtues of his emulsions, pink pills, electric belts and elixirs of life on the spot, in the columns of the South American newspapers or on the pages of the South American magazines; and by so doing he seems to be able to entice credulous humanity south of the isthmus to the use of his nostrums quite as surely as in the United States.

When an American merchant of the sort we are considering sends out a traveling salesman to South America, he is apt to select one of two undesirable types. The first of these is the man who may be thoroughly familiar with the details of the business, but who is unacquainted with any language save his own and is unfitted by temperament and by training to deal with South Americans. The man of the second type may be able to speak Spanish or Portuguese and may be otherwise adapted or adaptable to South American conditions, but he has little or no practical knowledge of the articles that he is supposed to introduce. Salesmen like these often make the gross mistake of imagining that, in order to secure a market for the line of goods which they represent, they need simply to employ the same arguments in Buenos Ayres that they would in New York. Knowing, for example, that the average American is prone to insist that the article which he buys shall be "up-to-date," as the phrase goes, they strive in vain to convince the South American that what he has always used is not so good as something brand-new. In many instances, moreover, the American salesmen do not take the trouble to penetrate into the interior of the countries to which they may be assigned, but confine their efforts to the coast towns. Others, instead of dealing directly with the South American merchants, seek out some English importing house or some German establishment of the same sort in which English is spoken. Through the medium of the salesmen, furthermore, or immediately on the part of the

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American concern itself, agencies are often set up in the very headquarters of our chief competitors, instead of entrusting them to native hands. How greatly the German or the English firm in question is benefited by such an admission to American trade secrets may readily be conjectured. Even in those cases where a native agency may have been created, the American house often injures its business by the adoption of an unwise policy toward its representative. It waits until that agency has built up a good market for certain lines of goods and then either turns over the further sale of the articles to a branch establishment of its own or supplies a native competitor of the original agency with the same commodity. Bearing in mind the attitude of the South Americans towards this sort of business practice, whether legitimate or not, one cannot be surprised if the native agent feels resentful at what he regards as unfair treatment and seeks to foment a prejudice among his countrymen against the use of the articles in which he has been dealing.

Three other defects in the American way of doing business in South America remain to be mentioned. In the first place, it is not uncommon for our merchants to demand that their goods, when exported to a South American country, be paid for in advance or immediately on delivery; or, if credit is allowed, they grant it for short terms only. None of these modes of payment, however, suits the majority of South American buyers: they call for long credits of, say, six months or more. Again, granting that the terms of payment are satisfactory to both parties, the American exporter is heard to complain at times of his inability to collect the amounts when due. To this it may be replied that if the exporter in question, ere he sent his goods forth, had taken the trouble to ascertain, through the local banks or other sources of reliable information, the business and financial responsibility of his backward customer, precisely as he would do in a similar case at home, his dealings would have been confined to reputable firms or individuals only, and his bad debts would have been proportionately fewer. At this point it is well to note, also, that no uncommon cause of the difficulties met with by our merchants in settling their accounts in South America is their failure to familiarize themselves with

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the monetary systems obtaining in the various countries and to safeguard themselves accordingly.

The third and last of the false notions current in the United States, to which allusion has earlier been made, is the belief that the American article is the best in the world and must commend itself spontaneously wherever it goes. In some cases, perhaps, the belief may be well founded, but this idea of the universal superiority of American materials and of American workmanship over anything of a like sort which can be furnished by Europe is rapidly becoming a more or less gratuitous assumption. Not a few of our business men have begun to realize that the European manufacturers, and notably the German, are quite capable of producing many classes of goods equal, if not superior, to our own. At all events the question is clearly open to discussion, after one has observed the fine quality of European handiwork and has also remarked the readiness with which both Europeans and Americans are learning to copy one another's productions. As examples of what the Germans in particular are doing in the latter respect in South America, the cheap imitations of American articles and the falsification of American trade-marks need only be mentioned. Yet the American exporter seems to make little effort to counteract the underselling that accompanies these practices.

Even if the intrinsic superiority of the American commodity, backed by the influence of a manufacturing reputation, be admitted, it does not follow that the South American buyer will feel inclined to recognize such superiority if the article costs more than something else of European origin which appears to be just as good. The prices of many classes of American products are in fact so high as to prevent any wide-spread sale of them in South America. That more of our goods are not sold there is due in great measure to the difference between American and European trade policies and methods. The use of better grades of materials and the employment of more highly paid labor in our manufacturing plants are not alone responsible.

This study of prevailing conditions has perhaps been sufficiently comprehensive to prepare the way for positive sugges-

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tions for the development of our South American trade. The broadest and most obvious suggestion, of course, is that we stop committing the various faults that have been described, and that we profit by the examples of our European rivals. Habitual currents of trade, protective tariffs, navigation laws and ship subsidies all apart, we can secure our share of South American commerce when the views and methods of our business men undergo, as regards this commerce, a change which will enable them to cope successfully with their rivals in general and with the Germans in particular.

Business relations, quite as much as other organisms, are governed by the law of growth and decay. In order to be successful, trading operations must be actively promoted and not merely suffered to go on as automatic processes. Should they be managed in the latter sense, decline and failure are bound to be the result. Foresight, also, is one of the inexorable demands of business. Simply because there is no immediate and direful necessity for a wider participation in South American commerce, we are not justified in neglecting to strengthen our hold upon it. We must make ready now to meet the imperative need whenever it does arise. To assume the sufficiency for all time of the home market and of our trade with Europe and Asia, without taking into serious account the possibility of a limitation of the one or a contraction of the other, is assuredly not a wise policy.

Situated geographically as we are, about as distant from South America at large as Europe is, with the completion of the Panama Canal a question of the future, and excluded thus far from the possible advantages of communication by rail, there are three things that we ought to do. The first is to get a thorough first-hand acquaintance with South American conditions. The second is to make a careful examination of the examples set by our European competitors, in the conviction that we shall be able to improve vastly upon these models. This does not mean that all we need to do is to imitate the Germans or the traders of any other nationality, although some of the German qualities might be taken over with advantage. Our third duty is so to modify certain of our business methods as to render them thoroughly effective in South America.

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While general admonitions like these may have some usefulness, an indication of specific ways and means of improving our trade relations with the countries of the southern continent would be of greater advantage. To take up, however, each of the traits and methods of our business men which have been noted as defective, and to prescribe for each defect its corresponding remedy, would be as great a waste of words as to give further laudation to the traits and methods of our European rivals. Instead, let us note that it would be well to have members of our exporting firms visit the South American countries, and make their visits as frequent and their observations as careful as possible. By so doing they could render valuable services both to themselves and to the United States. Their study of South American conditions at first-hand would enable them to widen their commercial opportunities and to bring back to this country, not only technical information, but also the general knowledge about the southern continent of which we stand so much in need. The South Americans, too, would more readily believe that we are interested in their trade if they were to see our representative merchants coming in person to investigate it.

In conjunction with what is furnished by Europe more of our available capital should be invested in South America. To the extent that the resources of the various republics are developed their purchasing power will be enlarged. When this result is attained, the Americans can compete with the Europeans for the increased trade.

American banks should be established in South America. Not only would such institutions facilitate our trading ventures by rendering them more independent of European banking houses, but they would yield large pecuniary returns as well. The profits made by the European branch banks in the southern continent range from eight to fifteen per cent annually, and are in some cases even greater.

Touching now upon some of the policies that the American business man might adopt with advantage toward his South American customers, let it be noted first of all that he is bound to treat such customers with as much regard as he does those

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at home. If the South American buyer calls for the shipment of the goods ordered under conditions and in a form different from those to which we are accustomed, or if he asks for rights of sale and terms of payment unusual in this country, his wishes on all such points must be met; otherwise the more obliging European merchant will be the recipient of any further business. To attain these ends, the American shipper should ascertain the precise details of the tariff regulations of the country to which the goods are consigned, and the formalities connected with the preparation of invoices of shipments which these regulations prescribe. Also he should keep himself constantly informed of changes in the tariff system. The American exporter should employ packers thoroughly familiar with the conditions of climate and transportation prevailing in the country of destination. Should this not be feasible, the technical details of the process may readily be learned from the several government publications and other sources of information to which reference has already been made. Good packing, however, should never be carried to the point where its cost may exceed the percentage of possible loss by leakage or breakage, for in so doing the price of the articles may be so greatly increased as to render effective competition impossible.

In all cases where a reputable South American firm expresses a desire to handle American goods, with the understanding that it shall enjoy the right to an exclusive sale of them in a given locality, the privilege should be granted; provided, of course, that it be impracticable to found there a branch of the American house itself. Furthermore, whenever asked for, a liberal credit should be extended to responsible parties. This would include, not only a reasonably long period through which the payments might run, but also allowance of the usual discounts from catalogue rates, and a deduction of the interest if the principal be paid at the beginning, instead of at the expiration, of the term agreed upon. It might be well, indeed, to introduce more widely into South America the plan, so common in the United States, which provides for the payment at the outset of a small fraction of the purchase price and permits the purchaser forthwith to enjoy the use of the article bought, subject

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to the payment of periodical instalments extending over a year or more, while the legal ownership continues in the seller until the last instalment has been paid. The few experiments thus far made with this plan have been very successful.

We have already observed that the prices of American goods are often too high to make their general sale in South America possible. If in any particular case this be true, and if the standard of American quality is to be maintained, one of two things must be done: either the American manufacturer must bring his selling price nearer to cost, contenting himself with a large output and small profits, or he must undertake a systematic campaign of education among the South American purchasers to show the special merits of the American article as compared with the claims urged on behalf of some European commodity that competes with it. But, whether the prices of American goods are relatively high or low, the systematic campaign in question should nevertheless be started in as many different ways as American ingenuity can devise. If the leading South American firms that handle our products and our own patent-medicine proprietors find it profitable to advertise freely in the local newspapers and magazines, the American exporter in general has even greater reason to do so. The advertisements themselves need not be inserted more than once a month in the periodical chosen, unless the subject-matter has to be changed frequently or unless some other motive to the contrary exists. In all cases, too, where the nature of the article will justify it, the advertisements proper should be amply supplemented by a display of lithographs, wall-posters and the like, lettered in the language of the country, attractive in form, and put up in the localities where they will most surely attract public attention. Similarly catalogues, price-lists, circulars and other varieties of commercial literature should be given a wide distribution in South America. To insure their examination by prospective customers, however, they must be printed in the language of the country; and they should be clear in statement and well provided with illustrations.

Useful as advertising is as a means of promoting trade, personal solicitation on the part of competent salesmen, a system-

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atic organization of their work, an abundant assortment of samples and a practical exhibit of modes of operating any particular article are far more effective in the South American trade. The salesmen themselves might well be divided into two classes, more or less on the order of our consuls and consular inspectors. The first of these classes would confine its activities to comparatively small areas; while the second would perform special functions in a much larger field. If the expense of maintaining what might be termed "salesmen-at-large" were too great for any individual firm to defray, it might be borne by a combination of houses that would agree to entrust the care of their particular interests to such agents in common. Sent out on a general circuit of the South American states, the "salesman-at-large" should familiarize himself with the laws and customs, as well as the tastes and needs, of the region in general. Then, having fixed upon the localities that might seem to offer a lucrative market for the goods of the firm or firms which he represents, he should devote more detailed attention to a group of states or even to one of the larger countries alone. While never missing an opportunity to place large orders, the circuit agent should leave the routine work of selling to the ordinary salesmen. Whenever practicable, also, he should be allowed to supervise the operations of these salesmen and to give them such instructions as an acquaintance with conditions on a larger scale might suggest. Finally, the circuit agent should send home periodical reports of his various activities.

Not only for this class of business representatives, but also for the ordinary salesmen who may be employed in South America, certain qualifications are indispensable, although the former of course should possess them in a more eminent degree. The qualifications are the following: first, a thorough familiarity with the goods in hand; second, a well-developed faculty of practical observation and description; third, a fluent command of the language; fourth, a preliminary acquaintance, obtained by a proper amount of study in the United States itself, with the conditions, commercial and otherwise, prevailing among the various countries of South America, and with the characteristics of the different nationalities and classes in that continent; and

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fifth, an easy adaptability to South American habits and temperament, along with a corresponding ability to subordinate any provincial American sense of superiority. Such at least are the ideal qualities to be desired in circuit agents and salesmen, but if one of them has to be omitted let it be the knowledge of the languages. A smattering of Spanish and Portuguese avails far less than the practical ability to establish a market in the country concerned. Aided by an interpreter, a good salesman can accomplish vastly more, or certainly do less harm, than the one who may be deficient in practical good sense. For business purposes, indeed, neither of the two languages presents great difficulties to an intelligent man who really wishes to learn them. In a few months he can acquire a degree of fluency extensive enough to enable him to sell goods, if he is otherwise qualified to sell them. Should Americans possessed of such qualifications be unobtainable in sufficient numbers, there are plenty of expert German salesmen who would be quite willing to represent American business houses in South America.

Furthermore, the delays incident to the actual shipment to South American countries of commodities ordered through the head office in the United States directly, and not through the medium of responsible agents in the localities concerned, might be removed by a gradual introduction of the several features of our contract system. By degrees, also, it may readily become possible to block out the South American countries geographically. Under this arrangement each agent or salesman would be authorized to make the agreements or contracts within the area specifically assigned to him, final approval only being reserved to the head office in the United States.

Wherever practicable the American exporter should establish branch houses in South America, rather than avail himself of the services of local agents, native or European. By so doing he will avoid a repetition of the mistake that so many of his class are now making in Germany, where, instead of having the goods handled directly by branch concerns, they are shipped to German importers whose abnormally high rates of profit are not altogether consistent with their denunciation of the new American tariff. Moreover it might be well for Amer-

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ican exporters interested in South American trade to form a sort of syndicate for the general operations of sale in any particular country or countries. They could establish there a central agency and warehouse, in which samples of their goods might be displayed, and their circulars, catalogues and other means of affording technical information might be used to the fullest advantage. If in any place, further, there be maintained by native enterprise a permanent exposition of industrial products in their various stages of manufacture, the American houses doing business in that section should come into immediate connection with the persons conducting such an exposition.

Whether the American exporters act jointly or individually in their quest of South American trade, they should keep a reasonably large stock of goods in the countries themselves. These should consist, not only of articles for sale and exhibit, but of such also as may be necessary for repair and replacement. Above all, our merchants should have in every field of their business activities in South America a complete assortment of samples; and these should be placed in the hands of able salesmen who know how to explain the operation or the utility of any particular article and to expatiate upon its merits.

Such are some of the general principles that should govern our commercial dealings with the republics of South America. The time to apply them is to-day, not to-morrow. Our markets at home and in Europe and Asia will not always furnish an adequate outlet for what we are capable of producing. Before us lies the trade of a neighboring continent, as yet hardly touched. We ought to preëmpt our share of it ere the omnipresent German has made it altogether his own.

WILLIAM R. SHEPHERD.

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REVIEWS

A Political History of the State of New York. By DeAlva Stanwood Alexander. Volume III, 1861–1882. New York, Henry Holt and Company, 1909.—561 pp.

If a stout volume on the history of athletic sports in the United States during the last twenty years should leave on the reader's mind, as the most distinct impression, the chronological succession, personal qualities and professional achievements of the heavy-weight pugilistic champions of the period, the work would remind one of Dr. Alexander's political history of New York. The sporting history would set forth entertainingly, and with a nice sense of the tactics and strategy involved, how John L. Sullivan won and for twelve years held the championship; how Corbett put Sullivan out; how Fitzsimmons vanquished Corbett and in turn yielded to Jeffries. Even so we learn from Dr. Alexander all about the "big ones" in the New York political arena—always, however, a two-ring show, with independent performances of Republicans and Democrats. We follow, on the one hand, the conflicts of Weed and Greeley, the rise of Fenton, his peremptory suppression by Conkling, and the Sullivan-like domination of the latter till the fatal collision with the national administration in 1881. On the Democratic side we see the supremacy of Dean Richmond, which ended only with his death, and then, under the patriarchal hegemony of Seymour, the ambitious efforts of Tweed and Kelly to seize the power which the astute Tilden was successful in securing.

Dr. Alexander's account of the events in which these various worthies were central figures is for the most part truthful and interesting. Whether it embodies an adequate "political history of the state of New York" is questionable. The author probably would not deny that the political life of the great commonwealth has been determined by more potent factors than the ambitious rivalries of party leaders. It is the personal element that constitutes, however, the staple of his narrative. To him, as an active and very useful politician himself, politics appears chiefly the play of individual wills and purposes. Not even the party influence gets a sufficient recognition in his book. The seeker after party history in the state will be disappointed in Dr. Alexander's work, though it embodies a mass of interesting and suggestive material to illustrate and amplify such history.

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The most striking illustration of what might have been done in this volume, but is not, is to be found in the chapters dealing with the end of the war and the development of reconstruction. This period was in New York, as elsewhere throughout the North, a time of flux and transformation in parties. The settlement of old and the appearance of new issues, as a result of the conquest of the South, brought a fundamental readjustment of both principles and personnel. The details of this process in New York are not made at all clear by Dr. Alexander. To make them clear would be, indeed, a difficult task, for the confusion was very great; but what he does is merely to reproduce, not analyze and explain, the turmoil.

On page 165, for example, he speaks of "the Union party," the "Republican press" and "the radicals" who elected Fenton governor. By these three terms he means one and the same political party or group. Only a somewhat laborious analysis of the context can reveal this fact. The reader should be spared such labor, and would have escaped it but for Dr. Alexander's mistaken idea that there was such an entity as the Republican party in 1865. That organization yielded itself up, both principles and personnel, during the war to a new organization, the Union party, which nominated Lincoln and Johnson in 1864. After the war, the new party became badly divided on the questions of reconstruction, the two wings being known as radicals and conservatives. The latter, supporting President Johnson against Congress, drew the Democrats into alliance with them and established a superior title to the name Union party. The Radicals, winning a decisive victory in 1866, gradually abandoned the name to which their adversaries clung, and reverted to the name and traditions of the *ante-bellum* Republicans. If Dr. Alexander had somewhere given a clear statement of this transformation and had made his use of terms and narrative of events in some measure conform to the movement, his treatment of the period would have been much more useful and, indeed, much more intelligible.

As to the general spirit and qualification of the author in his chosen task, only eulogy is possible. This volume completes the work of which two volumes appeared three years ago. It must have been something of an effort for Dr. Alexander, himself an active politician, to preserve the historian's impartiality and coolness in dealing with a period so late as 1880; but he has succeeded. He is in general, also, as accurate as he is judicial. On a single point a question might be raised. Referring to the naming at Cleveland, in 1864, of Fremont and Cochrane, "the two Johns from New York," for president and

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vice-president, Dr. Alexander observes in a footnote (page 92) that the convention made a "singular mistake" in the "nomination, contrary to the requirement of the Constitution, of both candidates from the same state." He apparently refers to the clause: "The electors shall . . . vote by ballot for president and vice-president, one of whom, at least, shall not be an inhabitant of the same state with themselves." Would Dr. Alexander, as a lawyer, construe this clause as prohibiting either candidates for, or actual incumbents of, the two offices to be from the same state?

WM. A. DUNNING.

Human Nature in Politics. By GRAHAM WALLAS. London, Archibald Constable and Company, 1908.—302 pp.

Although the controversy as to the best form of government seems now to be settled in favor of representative democracy, students and statesmen everywhere, and particularly in the countries which have had most experience with it, are disappointed with its results. This partial failure of popular institutions to justify themselves demands a political inquiry more fundamental than our present minute study of political history or the widespread discussion of recent experiments in representative institutions. What is lacking, in the opinion of Mr. Graham Wallas, is an effort to deal with politics in its relation to the nature of man; in other words we need to turn to the psychology of politics.

In Part I, Mr. Wallas discusses "The Conditions of the Problem." The first condition to be noted is the prevalent and unfortunate tendency to exaggerate the part played by the intellect and to lose sight of impulse or instinct as a motive to political action. This tendency is strengthened by an almost inevitable intellectualizing of impulse. During an election, for example, emotions of affection, more or less instinctive, are interpreted as rational convictions and are explained by the voter as well as the candidate on purely intellectual grounds, just as a "man in love will give an elaborate explanation of his perfectly normal feelings, which he describes as an intellectual inference from alleged abnormal excellences in his beloved" (pages 31, 32). The psychology of internal politics, Mr. Wallas observes, has been extensively considered, but in one aspect only, namely, the "psychology of the crowd." Much more important in the whole psychology of political impulse is "that which is concerned not with the emotional effect of the citizens of any state upon each other, but with those racial feelings which reveal themselves in international politics" (page 55).

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Chapter II, "Political Entities," is a discussion of the "objects, sensible or imaginary, of political impulse." Among such entities are flags, coins, national names, songs, the state itself, local areas of government, newspapers, rulers and so forth. These are all used in constructive political work, and, lacking them, nation-building is uphill work. The task of the English statesmen of the twentieth century will be much more difficult than it was in the nineteenth, one reason being that the United Kingdom has not even a name with the necessary emotional associations for creating an imperial patriotism. Neither has it an anthem, a coin or a flag to aid in creating imperial unity.

Party is the most effective political entity in modern states, for human nature requires something simple and permanent, "something which can be loved and trusted, and which can be recognized at successive elections as being the same thing that was loved and trusted before; and a party is such a thing" (page 83). The relation between the party as an "entity" and political impulse is illustrated by the art of advertising, to which "party politics are becoming more and more closely assimilated in method" (page 87). The portion of this chapter devoted to what one may call the psychology of the political party is particularly interesting and suggestive.

Having learned that it is "human nature" to be governed, in political as in other matters of life, largely by impulse, by affection and instinct, and that the political entities seen by affection and instinct are not like the facts as revealed by deliberate observation and rational analysis, the reader is prepared in advance to anticipate the line of reasoning of the third chapter, on "Non-rational Inference in Politics." In essence the argument is designed to establish, what probably no thoughtful person has ever doubted, that "most of the political opinions of most men are the result, not of reasoning tested by experience, but of unconscious or half-conscious inference fixed by habit" (page 103).

Chapter IV, "The Material of Political Reasoning," deals with entities which can be reasoned about rather than those which serve as objects of non-rational or instinctive inferences. This material men have to create. The first thing for the serious student of politics is mastery of a treatise on psychology. The essential thing for the politician as well as for the intelligent citizen in a democracy, Mr. Wallas constantly strives to make clear, is an understanding of human nature —a knowledge of man as he is, not some ideal man who never existed outside of the imagination. "At present," he says, "the politician who is trained for his work by reading the best known treatises on

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political theory is still in the condition of the medical student trained by the study of Hippocrates or Galen" (page 123).

Chapter V, on "The Method of Political Reasoning," is mainly a discussion of the tendency of political thinking and argument to change from qualitative to quantitative forms—terms which are practically equivalent to deductive and inductive. Since Jevons' time quantitative methods have taken the place of qualitative in economics, and it is time that a similar change should occur in politics. Such a change has, in fact already occurred, as is shown by a comparison of the methods of the present poor-law commission and the commission that framed the poor law of 1833–34. Experienced statesmen have always worked out complex problems quantitatively. Gladstone unconsciously employed that method in dealing with the problem of Irish home rule. His use of the quantitative method was, however, an operation of art rather than of science, while "the history of human progress consists in the gradual and partial substitution of science for art, of the power over nature acquired in youth by study, for that which comes in late middle-age as the half-conscious result of experience" (page 153).

In the second part of the volume, under the title "Possibilities of Progress," Mr. Wallas attempts to estimate the influence of these new tendencies which he believes are beginning to transform the science of politics. One of the most important problems of "Political Morality" (Part II, Chapter I) is the question whether it is wrong for the politician to attempt to influence others by any means except "the severest process of logical thought." It was assumed by those who originally championed democracy that, since reasoning was an easy and certain process, men's minds would work automatically and of necessity when faced by problems affecting their interest; that, since reason would in a democracy guide the citizen in the use of the ballot, the politician to be successful must make clear to others his own conclusions and the grounds for them; that, in other words, good government would be secured if the voters had sufficient opportunity of listening to free and sincere discussion. This intellectualist assumption on the part of the early theorists of democracy is still made by the candidate "who comes fresh from his books to the platform." But he soon finds that it is not his logic that makes votes. It might appear, if the politician were to become a student of psychology, as advocated in this volume, that the result would be little short of disastrous. Would not the younger politicians abandon all ethical traditions and adopt "those methods of exploiting the irrational elements of human nature which have hitherto been the trade secret of the elderly and disillusioned"

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(page 177)? This criticism Mr. Wallas meets by the assertion that, while a fuller knowledge of the obscurer impulses of man is being added to the equipment of the politician, an antidote is provided through the education of the voter. The latter is at the same time acquiring a higher degree of self-knowledge. Voters as well as the politician come to appreciate the part played by non-rational inference, so that they half-consciously at least see through "the cruder arts of emotional exploitation" (page 185). It is the business of our educational system to promote conscious self-knowledge of this sort, that it may keep pace with the political art of controlling impulse.

The chapter on "Representative Government" is concerned with the changes in the structure of political institutions that have been, or are likely to be, caused by an enlarged knowledge of "the causation of political impulse and of the valid conditions of political reasoning." It was early discovered in our experience with representative institutions that it would not do for the state to permit the politician to appeal to the elector through any kind of motives he chose. Consequently we have laws against bribery, laws fixing the maximum of election expenditure, laws punishing intimidation and so forth. To make the conditions as favorable as possible for effective political reasoning, campaigns are shortened by legal enactment, elections made fewer and held on the same day for the entire state or nation; and now we are coming to see in America that it is going against human nature to put before the voter a ballot containing a hundred names, more or less. To secure the best conditions for a rational use of the ballot, all modern countries employ the secret ballot and close the saloons on election day. Mr. Wallas suggests that elections should be held on Sunday, as in France, so that the voters could go to the polls with at least a few hours' rest, and in order that advantage may be taken of "the feeling of moral responsibility half consciously associated with the religious use of Sunday" (page 230). Better and more dignified buildings in which to hold elections might also help to secure sober thought.

A better understanding of political psychology may even lead to reopening the question of the best form of government. Representative democracy was introduced under the mistaken intellectual conception of human nature. Was not its introduction, therefore, a mistake? No, says Mr. Wallas; for though we may reject the traditional democratic philosophy, we can still defend our democratic institutions by reconsidering the purpose of representation, which is chiefly to secure government by consent; "and the degree of consent required may shade from the mere acceptance of accomplished facts, to the an-

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nouncement of positive decisions taken by a majority of the citizens, which government must interpret and obey" (page 200).

The chapter on "Official Thought" is chiefly in praise of the reformed civil service which experience has proved to be a necessity in a democracy. Mr. Wallas thinks that care in selecting candidates for appointment should be followed by careful and continuous training. The economic motive is not sufficient to secure the best official thought and service. The politician or statesman must therefore be enough of a psychologist to see that appeal is made to other motives. In reading these pages one somehow feels that it is Mr. Wallas's thought, unconscious perhaps, that if the modern statesman is grounded in psychology the greatest obstacle to the socialist state will be removed; for all that is necessary to make the government official as alert and efficient as could be desired is to keep him working under proper incentives.

Nationalism, conceived by Bismarck as possible of achievement through "blood and iron" and by Mazzini as based on a distinct and homogeneous type of man, is no longer possible in the face of new knowledge in the realms of psychology and evolution—knowledge that leads us directly to humanitarianism, "the most fatal solvent of empire." "Imperial egoism" is likewise deprived of all psychological basis. The new tendencies of thought started by Darwin's *Origin of Species* enable us to do what Mazzini thought impossible, namely, conceive of humanity as composed of individuals rather than a "mosaic of homogeneous nations." We now can and do think of the human race as a biological group, in which every individual "differs from every other not arbitrarily but according to an intelligible process of organic evolution." The immediate effect of the application of Darwinism to politics, however, was not to produce a general love of humanity. It was, on the contrary, used to justify the extermination of African aborigines by Europeans and, still worse, to prove that the "conflict among the European nations for the control of the trade routes of the world" is "a scientific necessity and a moral duty" (page 289), according to the law of the struggle for life and the survival of the fittest. But evolutionists are now telling us that improvement in the biological inheritance is not to be sought in conflict, but rather through what is coming to be known as the science of eugenics. Mr. Wallas therefore suggests that an international science of eugenics might well be substituted for extermination.

The reviewer is struck by what seems to him a general similarity between the ideas set forth by Mr. Wallas in the present volume and those of Mr. H. G. Wells in *A Modern Utopia*. No author (if one

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may trust the index) is quoted with approval so frequently as Mr. Wells, though the parallelism of ideas is not fully revealed by the specific references to Mr. Wells's various writings. It would not be fair, however, to give the impression that Mr. Wallas's ideas are altogether utopian. He is himself a practical politician and a useful public official, and what he has written is full of practical suggestion and stimulating analysis. The illustrative material is well chosen, and the style nearly always above criticism. The argument is not always clear, although a rather full synopsis of contents makes this fault less serious. A serviceable index increases the value of the volume.

CHARLES C. WILLIAMSON.

BRYN MAWR COLLEGE.

Studies in the American Race Problem. By ALFRED HOLT STONE. New York, Doubleday, Page and Company, 1908.—xxii, 555 pp.

In the work under review, Mr. Stone presents the views of a southerner on the Negro question. He marshals his facts well, and he evidently desires to discuss them logically and impartially. He is guilty, nevertheless, of glaring inconsistencies. Declaring that the problem is a national one, he shows impatience not only of much of the comment that comes from the North, but of the endeavor of northern men to contribute towards a solution. He warns the reader against generalizing from special instances, and then he cites a simple case from which he himself draws pessimistic conclusions. It relates to an experience on a southern plantation, where seventy-five Negro families worked under the orders of one overseer and where an unusual proportion of migrations occurred. Mr. Stone ignores the personal equation in the matter (it is surely possible that the Negroes did not like this particular overseer) and he bases upon this special instance a gloomy forecast of the future of the Negro.

The author expresses his discouragement over the fact that the Negroes on the Mississippi plantations are less successful than the Italian immigrants in making small farms profitable. He has not considered how severe a test it is to place the Negro of Mississippi in economic competition with a selected group from a thrifty and industrious European nation. The very fact that these immigrants have come to America shows them to be more resourceful and enterprising and intent upon success than their fellows who remain at home. Even our white American farmers cannot obtain from the land so large a yield as Italians trained in intensive farming.

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Mr. Stone's article on "Race Friction" is one of the best of the series. In it he presents many interesting facts; his diagnosis, in the reviewer's opinion, is correct; but the treatment which he proposes, namely, that the Negro should be let alone, is gravely inadequate. Here was his great opportunity. He should have called upon the men of the South to shirk their responsibility no longer, but to do their part in arousing among the Negroes a desire for improvement and in aiding them to lead virtuous and useful lives.

The discussion on "The Negro in Politics" is clear and convincing. The view presented is held in the North as well as in the South by candid men who have had political experience, who recognize facts and who have no axes to grind. It would be good for the country, for the white and black citizens alike, if the Republican National Convention should heed his advice to cease clamoring for the enforcement of the fifteenth amendment when there is no intention to take action—when the motive is solely to keep the Negro vote in line.

The brevity of the article on "The Mulatto Factor," in contrast with the great length of the preceding article on "The Negro in Politics," gives evidence of a wrong perspective and a deficient sense of proportion regarding the relative importance of these subjects to-day. Instead of brooding over "the horrors of Reconstruction," the author should labor to create a prevailing public opinion against the menace of miscegenation. Why did he not take this opportunity to proclaim the gospel of race integrity and to demand that it be practiced by the men of the South?

The use of the capital N for Negro and the emphasis which is laid on "race difference" rather than on "race inferiority" deserve commendation. The author is entirely right in saying that the factor of numbers determines in the main the intensity of race antagonism.

Our race problem calls for exhaustive study, a constructive faith and wide sympathy. Had Mr. Stone shown these more largely, the effect of his book would have been less sombre, for at this time there is certainly no need for reactionary writing.

Since Mr. Stone's articles appeared, a very able and temperate book has been published, entitled *The Basis of Ascendancy*, by Edgar Gardner Murphy. Its perusal will lead the reader to a higher and more hopeful view of this great question than is taken by Mr. Stone.

WM. JAY SCHIEFFELIN.

NEW YORK CITY.

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Die ökonomische Entwicklung Europas. IV. *Die Zersetzung der Grundherrlichkeit. Der Prozess der Bauernbefreiung.* Von M. KOWALEWSKY. Ubersetzt von AUGUST SCHOLZ. [Bibliothek der Volkswirtschaftslehre und Gesellschaftswissenschaft. Bd. XIV.] Berlin, Prager, 1909.—512 pp.

Professor Kowalewsky, as might be expected, accounts for the breakdown of the mediæval agricultural system and the emancipation of the peasants upon economic grounds alone. Relegating to the background the influence of the church and the triumph of centralized monarchy over feudalism, he looks only to the increase of population. This produced a great demand for land, which accordingly became more valuable, so that the old villein services and renders no longer constituted an adequate rent. In these circumstances lords found it desirable to resume their land and to put it out at lease, and at the same time an increased number of available hands made it possible to work the demesne by hired labor. Naturally the towns, as centers of population, production and the accumulation of capital, played an important part in this process. They had their own interests to serve, and these were all opposed to the existing feudal arrangements. The towns wished to recruit their population in order to break down the feudal monopoly in the production of raw material and in exchange, and to draw land into commerce as an additional outlet for their capital. To attain these ends it was necessary that the old manorial arrangements should be broken up and the peasants set free. It would really be more exact to speak of setting the land free, a process which entailed the personal emancipation of the peasants. The whole process, therefore, is fundamentally economic, although the activity of the towns expressed itself both socially and politically. On the other hand the revolutionary movements which occurred so generally in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries accomplished nothing. Like all revolutions, they were declaratory, in the present case of profound changes which rendered the existing system unsuitable for economic progress and therefore intolerable.

These are the general conclusions which our author draws from an examination of the economic conditions in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries in central and northern Italy, northern Spain, France, Flanders and England. They are not perhaps very new, but they will find the readier acceptance on that account; and it is well to remember that it is not so long since Thorold Rogers spoke as a prophet.

We may notice very briefly some of the chief points of Professor

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Kowalewsky's study before offering a few criticisms of his method. The course of the movement in Spain and Italy was differentiated from that in northern Europe by political peculiarities. In France, Flanders and England the central government was so closely involved with the feudal aristocracy and the ruling classes in the towns that no concession could be made, and the insurgent peasants were fiercely suppressed. In Spain, on the other hand, the policy of the crown was different, and formal emancipation came at last (1485) in a legislative way, although the royal edict did but regularize the existing state of things. If in Italy the Guelf cities promoted emancipation, in some cases even to the extent of providing the peasants with money to purchase their freedom, it is a striking fact that the Ghibelline cities could not prevent it.

The movement in France and Flanders has been much studied and often described; and Professor Kowalewsky does not appear to have added very much to our knowledge of the matter.

Nearly half the book is devoted to the peasant rising in England, of which our author furnishes a detailed and at times even a minute account. Four chapters treat respectively of the beginnings of the movement in Essex and Kent, the events in London on the Thursday and Friday after Corpus Christi, the proceedings at St. Alban's and in the adjoining counties, the final crushing of the movement in London and the subsequent measures of repression and punishment. The general conclusions are somewhat as follows: The cessation of villeinage was not caused nor even very much promoted by the peasant rising. The cause of the movement was primarily economic; the peasants wished to be rid of an inconvenient system of exploitation and to take advantage of the rise in the price of labor occasioned by the plague. But the movement was also social; the upper classes and officials had abused their privileges, and the church was corrupt. From this point of view the purpose of the movement was reform, not revolution nor destruction nor communism, although the desire expressed by certain writers for the secularization of church land has been represented in that light. The rising was only indirectly influenced by Lollardry, not in the least by the private ambition of John of Gaunt, court intrigue or the sinister activity of France or any other foreign enemy.

Professor Kowalewsky's guides in this part of his work are naturally Reville and Mr. Trevelyan (whom he cites on page 286 as quoting George Macauley, so is legend made!), but he has made good use of original authorities. He exploits the writings of Wiclif, Langland (*pace* Professor Manley) and Gower to prove the general corruption of

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society, administration and the church; and, as many will perhaps think, he somewhat overstates his case. Then the judicial records have yielded him many details that serve to control the information of the chroniclers and supply their deficiencies.

Professor Kowalewsky's method is easily understood. He makes little effort to consult, still less to exhaust, the mass of modern literature on his subject. He finds a competent guide, and then turns to the original authorities. If these are printed, he contents himself, it would seem, with the first edition that comes to hand; if they are inedited, he still manages to lay them under contribution. A surprising number of archives have been drawn on for the purpose of the present volume: Treviso, Venice, Todi, Florence, Perugia, Orvieto, Siena, Barcelona and Palma and, of course, the London Record Office. But all the time our author seems mainly concerned with finding illustrations of his general thesis.

This method has many advantages, and it has enabled the author to produce a useful and extremely readable book, presenting a clear and rapid survey of a great social and economic movement. Like the mediæval system of agriculture, whose downfall he recounts, Professor Kowalewsky's method is extensive; he even takes all the fields under cultivation in the same year; and we can not therefore expect that the land should always be well cleaned or the crop of the heaviest.

To enter into more detailed criticism, it may be said at once that our author is often fanciful and always careless. He suggests lightheartedly that the north and west of England were unaffected by the movement of 1381, because the pressure of landlordism was weaker there, "vermutlich auf Grund der in dieser keltischen Hälfte Englands noch unerschüttert bestehenden Gentilverfassung." One comes up gasping from this to enquire what becomes of the corruption of church, state and society as a cause of the movement, and whether Professor Kowalewsky knows where Malvern Hill is. Another passage, which is strikingly characteristic, invites quotation:

Man kann sie [*i. e.* the movement in Cambridge] ebenso wie die Bewegung von Saint Alban [*sic*] als Beweis dafür anführen, dass die Ereignisse des Jahres 1381 sehr mannigfache Ursachen hatten und nicht ausschliesslich als Ziel die Bauernbefreiung verfolgten. Alle Unzufriedenen, alle, die auf die eine oder andere Weise unter den Monopolen und Privilegien zu leiden hatten, ganz gleich, ob es sich dabei um ausschliessliche Rechte der Grundherren, der Handwerkerzünfte oder der Kaufmannsgilden, der städtischen Magistrate oder der Universitätskollegien handelte, beeilten sich, den zeitweiligen Niedergang der Regierungsgewalt zur

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Wiederherstellung ihrer, wie sie es nannten, uralten Freiheiten und Rechte zu benutzen, das heisst jener wirtschaftlichen Freiheit, die viele Jahrhunderte früher in England bestanden hatte, da noch das in den Anfängen seiner Entwicklung begriffene Grundherrentum nicht dazu übergegangen war, die Rechte der Bauerngemeinde, der Gilden und Zünfte zu seinen Gunsten aufzuheben, da die Gilden und Zünfte, deren Vorrechte vom König noch nicht bestätigt waren, als ungesetzliche Verbindungen galten, da die Bürgerversammlung, sich noch nicht zugunsten der engeren Ratsoligarchie ihrer sämmtlichen Vorrechte begeben hatte und die in Cambridge und Oxford begründeten Schulen noch nicht das Recht munizipaler Selbstverwaltung beanspruchten [pages 454, 455].

On the score of carelessness one wishes to exercise all possible charity, particularly as the publisher's preface, mentioning the difficulties that had to be met, the absence of the author, delay and loss of proof-sheets and so on, tends to disarm criticism. Still, when all allowances have been made, it must be admitted that the proof-reading has been unpardonably slipshod, and, although the translation is for the most part smooth and readable, there is one passage (page 56) which is so unintelligible that one can only suppose that the original has been misunderstood. When proof-reader and publisher have been convicted of carelessness it is still impossible to acquit the author. Some allowance must of course be made for the double refraction of Italian, Spanish, French and English names through a Russian and a German mind, but this will not cover all the slips that occur. In the case of English documents, at least, Professor Kowalewsky seems to have been content to take names as he finds them, without any regard to uniformity, still less to current usage. Thus we get Wat Tylor and Watt Taylor, Wyclef and Wyklif, John Bol or Boll, Clarkenwelle, *etc.*, *etc.* These formal slips are annoying, but there are material errors as well, a few of which may be mentioned. It is rather late in the day to be talking of the revival of the study of Roman law owing to the discovery of manuscripts at Amalfi and Pisa (page 46). Then to call the Lollards the first to preach voluntary renunciation and apostolic poverty is surely to neglect the teaching of the Fraticelli, to say nothing of St. Francis himself (page 288). Peterborough is not in the county of Gloster (*sic*), nor is Tynemouth so situated in relation to St. Alban's that if the abbot had taken refuge there he could the next day have been besieged in the church by the insurgent peasants of Hertfordshire (pages 395, 432, 438). Finally it is characteristic of our author that he should on the same page speak of the town of "Billerick" and ascribe to "Jerobeam" Rehoboam's profession of tyranny (page 489).

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Enough has perhaps been said to show to what extent this really useful and interesting work suffers from the defects of its qualities as well as from the conditions in which it is submitted to a public ignorant of Russian.

The fifth and sixth volumes are promised "as soon as possible." The latter is to conclude the work, and is to be provided, one notes with satisfaction, with a complete index.

GAILLARD THOMAS LAPSLEY.

TRINITY COLLEGE, CAMBRIDGE.

A History of the English Agricultural Laborer. By W. HASBACH. London, P. S. King, 1908.—xi, 470 pp.

Professor Hasbach's work was first published in Germany in 1894 and at once won a great reputation among German economists. It is indeed a most careful and able study of the facts respecting the history of the agricultural laborer in England. In especial the parts dealing with the development of the agricultural "proletariat," the demoralization of the laborer and the effects of the poor law will awaken the keenest interest of the student of economic history. It is not possible to review in this place even a part of the mass of historical evidence which Hasbach has adduced, for such an attempt would involve a long investigation of many detailed questions. Yet there are many points on which opinions will differ from those of the author. For instance, his views as to the reasons which led to a decay of the small landowner in the eighteenth century do not agree with those held by the present reviewer. While Professor Hasbach has admirably traced all the influences of law and politics which aided the large landowners and others to expropriate the small landholders, to reduce the number of small tenants and to create a class of large farmers and dependent laborers, he has not paid much regard to the underlying economic forces which brought about these changes and which made capitalistic farming suddenly profitable. These forces were mainly the rise in the price of wheat and the increasing profits of wheat farming on a large scale. The small farmer, whose most profitable occupations in the eighteenth century were dairying and the minor branches of agriculture, was not in a position to raise large crops of wheat for the market, and the whole system of small farming thus became antiquated. Evidence, which of course cannot be produced here, shows that the small yeomen sold their farms to become large tenants. This fact cannot be refuted by showing, as Professor Hasbach does, that a great many yeomen flourished even when prices of wheat were high; for these represented

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what would be called in Germany *grossbäuerliche Betriebe*. Of course many of these larger yeomen profited by the higher prices of wheat, as the raising of wheat for the market was within the profitable sphere of their operations.

The question of large and small farming has always exercised a dominant influence on the conditions of the agricultural laborer. Especially in our day the so-called small-holdings movement in British agriculture can hardly be discussed without touching at many points the problem of the exodus of the rural laborer. Professor Hasbach deals with this question in the very interesting fifth chapter of his book. Curiously enough, he does not disclose a very optimistic view on this point. He even argues that British landlords and farmers today "increase the size of farms." This allegation, however, the reviewer is compelled to deny. Unfortunately the statistics of the last fifteen years are arranged in so primitive a fashion as to the grouping of different sizes of farms that the movement towards small holdings cannot be clearly demonstrated by figures; but the existence of this movement is an undeniable fact and the disinclination to throw farms together is undisputed. As early as 1890 the Report on Small Holdings expressed the view that "the policy of consolidating farms prevailed largely till within the last few years but had now practically ceased." The Report on Small Holdings published in 1906 (C. D. 3277, page 4) has fully adopted this view. If the development of small holdings advances but slowly, the reason is to be sought in the non-capitalistic value which a large estate and the system of large farms frequently represent to the English landlord.

Professor Hasbach appears to be a warm advocate of small farms from a social point of view, and the reviewer fully shares the ideas which he advances on this point. But it is rather singular that the author repeats the old argument, by which Mr. Balfour once tried to diminish the glory of Cobden's victory, that if small proprietors had existed in England free trade would not have been established so soon. Professor Hasbach, too, believes that small proprietors would be "the strongest pillars of the protectionist party." He bases this view on German conditions. But he overlooks one important fact: that the revival of the small farmer in England began with the decline in the price of wheat and the increase in the consumption of butter, milk, fruit, eggs, poultry and all those minor agricultural products in which the small working farmer can successfully compete with the large gentleman farmer. British small holders know that only "free food" can increase the demand for all that they chiefly cultivate. In Germany,

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however, a great number of peasant proprietors are small or medium farmers, who produce wheat for the market and profit by the protective duties. The difference in the position of these classes can be understood only by taking into consideration the different conditions and needs of their holdings, and this, the reviewer thinks, has not always been done.

The great value of Professor Hasbach's work will be found in his careful historical researches and in his effort to maintain a sceptical and non-political attitude. Therefore his book will always rank among the very best that have been written on the subject of British agriculture.

HERMANN LEVY.

UNIVERSITY OF HEIDELBERG.

History of the Bank of England (1640–1903). BY A. ANDRÉADÈS. Translated by CHRISTABEL MEREDITH, with a preface by H. S. FOXWELL. London, P. S. King and Son, 1909.—39, 455 pp.

The welcome which students of monetary theory and practice accorded Dr. Andréadès' history of the Bank of England, in its original French garb five years ago, fully justifies the present English version. The quality of the translation by Mrs. Christabel Meredith is unusually good, and the notable preface by Professor Foxwell is of as much interest as, and perhaps of greater significance than, the book itself.

There will be little dissent from the opinion that Dr. Andréadès' work is far and away "the most comprehensive and most readable" account of the Bank of England yet published. Professor Foxwell's faithful inventory of earlier writings is after all an unimpressive exhibit, and the present essay stands a monument no less to the courage than to the ability of the author. It is no new thing for a scholar to succeed in a vivid and suggestive description of some characteristic institution of a foreign country. In so far as the requisites are mental detachment and that manner of impressionistic alertness which accompanies first contact, the alien observer enjoys a positive advantage. On the other hand, where the field of inquiry involves an extensive and varied *materiel*, impinging upon many phases of national history and character, the handicap is heavy; and Dr. Andréadès' task has been preeminently of this kind.

If, however, we eliminate personal sympathy, and turn from the relative to the absolute worth of the work, a less favorable judgment results. There are regrettable gaps, such as the neglect of the contemporary development of monetary theory, the failure to analyze the Bank's relation to commercial growth and to public opinion, the frag-

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mentary treatment of the Restriction period and the absence of statistical appendices; while in other places, as in the description of the English industrial revolution and in the account of Paterson's life, there is a disproportionate mass of detail, which suggests the enthusiastic investigator's reluctance to sacrifice a laboriously accumulated note-book.

But most serious of all, the work often becomes a succession of jerks and starts. In the brief preface to the present edition Dr. Andréadès speaks modestly of the book as "a product of youth." But the impression left upon the reader is not that the author lacked years but that the book itself does. In short, its characteristic feature is prematurity. Instead of a definitive history of the Bank of England, we have an annotated syllabus of such a history—ambitious, honest, even comprehensive, but lacking that sure sequence and easy symmetry which distinguishes a history from a chronicle. Dr. Andréadès has assembled the parts and sketched a working-plan, but he has left for himself or for a successor the distinction of achievement.

Like so much other of his remarkable editorial work, Professor Foxwell's preface tends to eclipse in interest the major text. In brilliant aggressiveness it suggests Jevons' introduction to the *Theory of Political Economy* or Walker's *North American Review* essay on the "Wage-Fund Theory," or Böhm-Bawerk at his best. Certainly no recent piece of economic writing is likely to disturb the placid serenity of accepted opinion to anything like the same extent.

To assert that the Bank was right in 1811 in rejecting the main recommendations of the Bullion Committee and in thereby refusing to follow "the counsels of the doctrinaires," to add that "we may well be thankful that men of more cautious temper were at the helm then," and to ascribe "the unconsidered severity of traditional censure" to the hostility of Ricardo, the "consistent and uncompromising enemy" of the Bank—are propositions as remarkable as they are novel.

In another place I shall hope to justify dissent from the primary contention. In the present connection it is desired only to file a *caveat* from the Held-like interpretation of Ricardo's hostility to the Bank, suggested—perhaps without intention—by the general tenor, if not by the specific terms, of Professor Foxwell's comments.

As to the fact itself there can be no doubt. There is no more characteristic phase of Ricardo's relation to contemporary institutions than his persistent, avowed hostility to the policy and practice of the Bank of England. In his first published utterance—the communication to *The Morning Chronicle* of August 29, 1809—Ricardo condemned "the dangerous power" with which the Bank was entrusted, and with

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the further progress of the bullion controversy this attitude became more defined. The discussions, in and out of the House of Commons, in 1815–16, incident to the renewal of the government's engagement with the Bank as fiscal agent, found Ricardo sharply aligned against the policy of the Bank directors and an aggressive champion of more liberal practices. Finally, the last substantial piece of work from Ricardo's pen, not actually published, indeed, until after his death, was the "Plan for the Establishment of a National Bank," in which the withdrawal of note-issuing power from the Bank was strongly urged. In the intervening years, thick with notable episodes in the Bank's history, Ricardo lost no occasion in public expressions and in private intercourse to voice emphatic dissent from the Bank's procedure.

It is possible to explain this consistent hostility as a mere unreasoned dislike. But all that we know of Ricardo's mental habit makes it clear that his temper was judicial and his conclusions deliberate. Slow to form opinions, receptive to new evidence—when his judgments were once formed they gave evidence of definite basis and hard logic. It was in the wisdom of painful experience that James Mill wrote to Francis Place: "Don't meddle with Ricardo. It is not easy to find him in the wrong, I can assure you. I have often thought that I had found him in the wrong, but I have always eventually come over to his opinion."

A no less simple although very much cheaper explanation is to assume that Ricardo's opposition to the Bank was dictated by personal interest; for example, that as a considerable operator on the stock exchange he might, prior to 1815, have come in frequent contact, perhaps in occasional collision, with the Bank directorate. Or again, that as a large holder of funds he must have suffered from the depreciation of the money standard consequent upon the Bank's note-issuing policy.

As a matter of fact, Ricardo's attitude towards the Bank of England was inspired by a composite impulse. Doctrinal, personal, political, even philosophical considerations contributed, each with a distinct and traceable definiteness. As an observer of monetary practice and an advocate of specific monetary doctrines, he resented the stolid resistance of the Bank directorate to accepted principles. As a substantial proprietor of Bank stock, he protested against the niggardly distribution of the Bank's profits and the unwarranted concealment of its accounts. As a citizen in close touch with public affairs and, later, as a legislator, he was indignant at the disadvantageous arrangements subsisting between the Bank and the government. As a philosophical radical, he was in arms against a depreciation of the accustomed mone-

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tary standard, with its consequent unmerited effects, for good and ill, upon distinct social classes.

It is difficult to understand how, in face of influences so manifest, a writer of Professor Foxwell's acumen can write: "Ricardo's animus was unconcealed; its origin I do not know, and it would be unprofitable to speculate upon it."

JACOB H. HOLLANDER.

JOHNS HOPKINS UNIVERSITY.

Théorie du salaire et du travail salarié. By CHRISTIAN CORNÉLISSEN. Paris, Giard et Brière, 1908.—704 pp.

In his earlier work on the theory of value, M. Cornélissen proved himself a formidable critic of the "*bourgeois*" economics, whether in its classical or in its modern form. Few of the orthodox economists of the present time have read so widely in the literature of their own system as Cornélissen; hence the only ready means of escape from his critique was to ignore him altogether, on the *a priori* ground that his reasoning was vitiated by his socialistic bias. Whether this attitude toward the *Théorie de la valeur* was justified or not, a similar attitude toward the *Théorie du salaire* would be indefensible. This book is essentially a scholarly analysis of the facts underlying the modern labor problem, such as any orthodox economist, given Cornélissen's learning and talent for systematization, might have written. Good use has been made of the published material, not only of Belgium and France, but also of Russia, Germany, England and the United States. The American reader will search in vain for the least indication that American material is examined through foreign spectacles. The author has also conducted extensive investigations of his own, the results of which are reported with such excellent judgment as to inspire confidence in the reader as to the entire work. The author's socialistic bias is, indeed, not difficult to discern; but it leads to no suspicion of sophistication of facts or forcing of conclusions.

The book consists of five parts. The first lays the foundation of the work, with a discussion of labor as a commodity (under capitalism) and of the nature of the wages contract and an historical review of the movement of wages in the nineteenth century. The second part treats of the chief theories of wages, including the wage-fund, the supply and demand, the utilitarian (productivity) and the cost of production theories. The third part analyzes the conditions of labor in the several trades and professions and discusses such problems as the differences in wages between skilled and unskilled occupations, women

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and children in industry and the sweating system. The fourth part is devoted to a treatment of various special influences affecting the conditions of labor, such as the relation between the wages of industrial laborers and the wages of laborers engaged in agriculture, the piece-work and the time wage systems, prosperity and depression, labor legislation and trade unionism. The fifth part presents the author's own theory of wages.

Of the first, third and fourth parts there is little to be said except that they are admirably executed. They contain enough new material to make them well worth the study of anyone who is interested in the labor problem. The theoretical parts, the second and the fifth, are controversial in their nature and can not be so easily disposed of. The criticism of the wage-fund and supply and demand theories need not detain us, since economists generally are fairly well convinced that the first is fallacious and the second inadequate. Indeed, it would appear that Cornélissen inserted a discussion of these theories only to create a show of comprehensiveness, as his treatment lacks heart. The discussion of the productivity theory, on the other hand, is conducted in a very different spirit. By fair means or foul, the author seeks utterly to destroy that theory. The principal charges against the theory are: (1) that it rests upon a confusion of subjective and objective value; (2) that it assumes that wages are determined solely by the price of products; (3) that it assumes commensurability between such diverse efforts as those of the chemist and those of the blacksmith; (4) that it assumes the possibility of testing the individual productivity of each man in an industrial enterprise, whereas technically the product is the result of associated efforts, complementary in their nature. Any one of these is a capital charge, in the judgment of our author. Of these charges, the third and fourth are grave, though not new. It does, indeed, require an heroic imagination to represent the railway king as hiring labor units composed of infinitesimal fractions of president, office force, engineers, section hand *etc.* There is, however, a certain variability in the quantity of labor employed even by an established concern, and a far greater variability in the quantity of labor that may be employed by a prospective concern where, in the promoter's imagination, the elements may be combined in whatever proportions may seem profitable. This is the only basis in reality for the productivity test—an adequate or an inadequate basis according to one's taste.

There is no doubt that the productivity theory of wages, as usually expounded, attempts the impossible feat of reducing to homogeneous units diverse classes of labor. How serious this charge against the

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theory may be, we can only judge after a consideration of the fundamental purpose of the theory. That purpose is to express the fact of a normal equilibrium of claims of labor and of capital, an equilibrium dependent not upon the force of character and organization of laborers on the one hand and capitalists on the other, but solely upon the quantitative relations of the respective factors. Whether such an equilibrium can exist, and whether a study of it throws light upon existing problems, need not be considered here. It is evident, however, that the question of the incommensurability of different kinds of labor has no bearing upon the fundamental problem with which the productivity theory is concerned.

The first two objections are not of a character to deserve extended consideration. In the writings of the Austrian school there is usually a *lacuna*, whether of thought or of exposition, between subjective and objective value. Most students of economic theory believe that the difficulty could be made to disappear if the end were worth the requisite number of pages of "subtleties." The second charge, that wages are assumed to depend solely upon the price of the products of labor, rests upon a misconception of the theory. According to the theory, wages are dependent upon the value product of labor, but this, in turn, is dependent upon the quantitative relations of labor and capital.

Our author is more in sympathy with the cost of production theory of wages than are most modern economists. Naturally he neglects the cruder "iron law." Assuming, however, that cost of production means that wage which, at a given time and place, the laborer regards as necessary to existence, and without which he would refuse to work, our author believes that cost of production determines the wages of the great body of unskilled workers.

In his constructive work (Part V) M. Cornélissen endeavors to combine the utility theory of wages with the cost of production theory. The former explains the surplus above cost of living secured by the skilled laborers. It must be admitted that, in spite of some attempts at introducing definiteness through a marginal analysis, this theory, as the author presents it, is almost as abstract and contentless as that of any *bourgeois* economist. The only distinguishing feature of the theory is that it tacitly assumes that there is no upper limit to wages short of the entire product of industry.

In Part IV the author displays very little enthusiasm for the various reforms that are intended to insure industrial peace. Profit sharing and stock ownership by employees are dismissed with scant courtesy. Labor legislation is treated as a useful means of removing a small por-

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tion of the very worst hardships that the laborer endures. Compulsory arbitration of labor disputes Cornélissen regards as a means of transforming average wages of the present into normal wages for the future —a highly undesirable result.

Militant trade-unionism meets with the author's unqualified approval. There is a natural conflict between the interests of laborers and those of employers, and this conflict must find expression in industrial warfare. Conciliation and arbitration may bring temporary relief, but permanent peace will be established only when the entire product of industry is absorbed by labor. Most students of the labor problem at one time or another cherish similar views but find themselves forced to abandon them. Unquestionably a conflict of interests between labor and capital inheres in the existing order. But the student of the history of social institutions has learned that a permanent conflict of interests often results, not in war terminated by the destruction of one of the parties to the conflict, but in an equilibrium of forces. Various circumstances, in the last two centuries, have changed the relative weight of labor and property, perhaps to the advantage of the former. A new equilibrium is indicated—possibly one in which property will play a very small rôle indeed, but more probably one in which labor comes very far from commanding "the whole product of labor." At all events, we know that in general the rate of increase in the wages of labor, whether organized or unorganized, is diminishing in all the more advanced industrial nations—some slight indication that the influences making for higher wages are becoming exhausted.

ALVIN S. JOHNSON.

THE UNIVERSITY OF TEXAS.

Report of the Royal Commission on the Poor Laws and Relief of Distress. London, 1909. Three volumes: 565, 343, 716 pp.

Few royal commissions have excited more general interest or have dealt with more important subjects than the British Commission on the Poor Laws, which was appointed in December, 1905, and has now submitted its report. Three of its members were women: Mrs. Bosanquet, Mrs. Sidney Webb and Miss Octavia Hill. Of the fifteen other members only Mr. C. S. Loch of the London Charity Organization and Professor William Smart of Glasgow are at all widely known in the United States. The remaining members represented the Local Government Board, various boards of guardians *etc.* The commission was empowered to investigate either personally or through agents, to visit institutions and to summon witnesses. Its object was not only to

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ascertain how the present poor laws are working, but also to study the methods adopted outside of the poor laws, particularly during emergencies. Fourteen special studies were made by appointed investigators. Four hundred and fifty-two witnesses appeared at the meetings of the commission, and nine hundred others gave written testimony. In view of the importance of the inquiry, it is somewhat surprising that 97 of the 645 unions in England and Wales submitted no replies to the questions asked by the commission.

The report proper begins on page 30, with a "Statistical Survey of Poor Law Problems." On January 1, 1908, it was found that 928,621 paupers were being assisted—a number equal to that of the population of Liverpool. Omitting the insane and casuals, the proportion was 22.9 to the thousand of total population. Taking into account the total number aided during the year, the proportion rises to 49 in the thousand. The figures vary from about 1.3 in the thousand, in the case of children under five, to 163 for persons between sixty-five and seventy-five, 275 for those between seventy-five and eighty-five, and 353 for those over eighty-five. These figures show that England has a system of old-age support antedating and quite independent of the pension system. Since 1875 "there has, indeed, been an increase in the number of indoor paupers in every cycle, though it is especially marked in the period 1896–1905, whilst the number of the outdoor paupers shows a continuous decline over the whole of the four cycles." This increase is among the adults, not the children. Nearly one-third of those relieved may be classed as permanently dependent. "It is in regard to the able-bodied that least progress has been made."

In summing up the results shown in the first parts of its report the commission says:

> It is very unpleasant to record that, notwithstanding our assumed moral and material progress, and notwithstanding the enormous annual expenditure, amounting to nearly sixty millions a year, upon poor relief, education and public health, we still have a vast army of persons quartered upon us unable to support themselves, and an army which in numbers has recently shown signs of increase rather than decrease. To what is this retrogression due? . . . The statistical review of the expenditure increased and of the results attained by it prove that something in our social organization is seriously wrong, and that whatever may be the evils, they are not of such a nature as to be improved by the mere signing of checks or the outpouring of public funds.

In part 3 of its report the commission gives a brief but excellent history of the poor law down to 1834.

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In reading the remainder of the first volume it is expedient to bear in mind that the conclusions and recommendations of the majority differ from those of the minority, the minority report appearing in the third volume. It is noteworthy that all the commissioners agree on certain main positions: (1) a great mass of misery exists, which (2) the existing poor laws have failed to relieve, and (3) the hopes entertained by the men of the nineteenth century relating to the poor laws of 1834 have not been realized. Both groups agree as to the need for important changes; but while the majority declares that modifications of the existing system will suffice, the minority demands radical changes. The majority would leave the administration for the most part in the hands of the present authorities; the minority would institute entirely new organs.

The recommendations of the majority may be summarized as follows: Substitute the term "public assistance" for poor law, as the latter term is opprobrious. Revise the laws, issue a handbook, get better inspection and give the central body "a more direct position of guidance and initiative in regard to the local authorities." Abolish the powers of the magistrates, and let local boards be made up of public-spirited men and women. Improve the quality of local agents by securing trained persons and by establishing a graded public assistance service. Enlarge the areas of administration. Give larger powers of detention in institutions, particularly for the class known as "ins and outs." Arrange for frequent visits to every institution, and make the life of the aged inmates as comfortable and cheerful as possible. Grant outdoor relief only when applicants are living in decent houses. Give authority to move neglected persons to institutions. Give special attention to widows, and rarely grant relief in desertion cases unless the husband has been gone a year. Investigate; adopt case records; coöperate with private societies. Take better care of the aged; build them separate cottages; and if relief is given out of institutions, see that the relief is adequate and visit the recipients frequently. Extend the system of boarding-out children and place it under effective supervision. Give to the guardians power of supervision over adopted children also, until these have reached the age of twenty-one. Send able-bodied paupers to detention homes. Make the labor of the inmates of institutions more productive; deal more stringently with rounders. (At this point there is interjected a very poor chapter on "Causes of Poverty.") Improve the institutions for the sick, and organize at once "a satisfactory system of nursing or attendance" for the outdoor sick poor. Coöperate with other agencies, particularly in regard to the

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medical care of school children. Attach no disfranchisement to the receipt of medical assistance. Systematize medical relief.

Unskilled labor, irregularly employed, is increasing. The "normal condition of under-employment" requires special machinery for its relief. All encouragement of casual labor must cease. The Unemployed Workmen's Act should be repealed. The commission evidently felt that this was one of the most important subjects, for it devotes 55 pages to its recommendations on this point, under three heads: (1) permanent preventive measures of a social or industrial character; (2) the permanent system of public assistance for the able-bodied; and (3) transitional measures.

(1) Establish national labor exchanges to secure information regarding unemployment and to increase the mobility of labor. Keep boys in school to the age of fifteen. Improve devices for technical training and introduce physical education. "The education in our public schools should be much less literary and more practical." Let the public departments plan for the continuous employment of labor, undertaking special work when the general labor demand is weak. Devise some plan of insurance against unemployment.

(2) Establish in every district four organizations: (*a*) an organization against unemployment; (*b*) a labor exchange; (*c*) a voluntary aid committee; (*d*) a public assistance authority, using public funds when necessary. Assist at homes, in labor colonies, in industrial or agricultural institutions, in detention colonies or by emigration.

(3) During the period of transition: (*a*) introduce special plans of public work; (*b*) borrow money, if necessary, to conduct them; (*c*) carry out the special works on an ordinary business basis; (*d*) pay customary wages.

The second volume is a sort of appendix to the majority report. The first hundred pages are devoted to a study of private charities. The commission believes that there should be separate committees, one for public assistance with relief furnished by the rates and one for voluntary assistance. The various charities would thus be brought into close relation with each other and would deal particularly with the "at home" cases. Public outdoor relief should be carefully and strictly limited. The voluntary aid committees would have jurisdiction over the areas of the present unions. These suggestions are most interesting; but one wonders how many of the commission dared hope to see them realized.

The minority report, in the third volume, is signed by four persons, all from London: Mrs. Sidney Webb; Rev. Prebendary H. Russell

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Wakefield, alderman and ex-mayor of the borough of St. Marylebone and chairman of the Central Unemployed Body for London; Mr. Francis Chandler, secretary to the Amalgamated Society of Carpenters and Joiners and ex-chairman of the Chorlton board of guardians; and Mr. George Lansbury, member of the borough council and board of guardians for Poplar and of the Central Unemployed Body for London. Their conclusions may be summarized as follows:

Everyone condemns the universally existent mixed workhouse. It exists largely because the public agencies are "destitution authorities" charged with the relief, not the prevention, of distress. While the abolition of outdoor relief is impracticable, the present system is open to the gravest criticisms. It is unsystematic, indiscriminate, inadequate. The boards of guardians are unable to prevent the procreation of feeble-minded in the workhouses; the treatment of maternity cases is inadequate, and infant mortality is too high. The powers of the local health authority should be greatly enlarged.

Poor children suffer from divided responsibility. The destitution authorities cannot care for the 237,000 children of school age maintained in whole or part by the state. In Great Britain there are three or four thousand children, and in Ireland as many more, who are being brought up in mixed workhouses. The number of children fed by the school authorities indicates the failure of the other agencies. The remedy lies in giving the education authorities the entire control of children of school age.

The sick, too, are handled by rival authorities, the poor law and public health agencies. These overlap and lack coördination. The solution is to unify medical service under the public health boards.

The mentally defective should be removed from the workhouses, as recommended by the special commission, and should be put under the charge of a separate department, with a minister responsible to Parliament at its head. The aged, also, should be taken from the workhouses and granted pensions. At the same time restraint should be exercised in case of necessity (contagious diseases *etc.*).

The existing laws of settlement and removal should be repealed; and there should be "identical and reciprocal rights as between England and Wales, Scotland and Ireland." There should be better auditing and better supervision by the national government.

The general scheme of reform advocated by the minority is as follows: Repeal the old poor law and abolish the boards of guardians, transferring their property and powers to the borough councils. Make separate provision for the able-bodied and the non-able-bodied. As

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regards the latter class, put children of school age under an education committee; infants, the sick, the incapacitated and the aged who need institutions under a health committee; the mentally defective under an asylums committee; and the aged who do not need institutions under a pensions committee. Appoint registrars of public assistance who shall (1) keep registers; (2) assess rates; (3) approve grants of outdoor relief made by the proper committee.

Pages 436 to 690 are devoted to a discussion of the needs of the able-bodied; the remaining pages to a recapitulation. The uniformity sought in 1834 has never been achieved nor has the labor test been applied. Apparently between 30,000 and 40,000 able-bodied men are aided yearly without any work being required of them. Some 10,000 such men are now in the workhouses, and in large towns the number seems to be increasing. This is likewise true in Scotland and in Ireland. The present poor law is therefore a failure, so far as the able-bodied are concerned.

The relief furnished by various shelters and missions is only transient, touches only the fringe of the problem and is open to severe criticism on several grounds.

The Unemployed Workman's Act has not produced satisfactory results. The Local Government Board has not furthered farm colonies as it might have done, and it has ignored the mandatory provision for labor exchanges. Local authorities have thus been hampered in their efforts to carry out the law. It has been of some value, however, and the recommendation of the majority, to throw the unemployed back under the poor law, is not approved.

Under-employment is chronic; the loss in earnings and in character is self-evident. Some better means of knowing the labor market should be devised. While men are under-employed, the number of women and children engaged in industry increases. Only the national government can cope with such conditions. Accordingly, national labor exchanges should be created, under the direction of a minister responsible to Parliament. There should be six subdivisions: (1) a national labor exchange, to ascertain the labor market, to save time in finding work and to dovetail casual employments; (2) a trade insurance division, to look out for the surplus labor resulting from trade changes *etc.*; (3) a maintenance and training division, to maintain labor bureaus, register those who fail to provide for themselves and their families and control the detention colonies; (4) an industrial regulation division; (5) an emigration and immigration division; and (6) a statistical division.

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It is again to be noted, in closing, that as regards the general aspects of the situation there is little dispute. That something should be done is evident. That experiment will show what is best seems likely.

As a whole, the report is admirably edited. It is concise and yet readable. It will be of great value, not merely in England, but to all students of the problems of poverty.

CARL KELSEY.

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Das Wesen und der Hauptinhalt der theoretischen Nationalökonomie. By JOSEPH SCHUMPETER. Leipzig, Duncker und Humblot, 1909.—626 pp.

This work is both critical and constructive, and in each direction it contributes distinctly to the progress of economic science. One of its purposes is to indicate the weak points in current theories, and to this extent it is controversial; but it aims to reduce the amount of controversy in progress rather than to increase it, and the candor with which it treats other men's work gives ground for hoping that this end may be attained. The work holds aloof from entangling controversies as to method and uses whatever method is best adapted to the purpose at any time in view.

As the basis of his general plan of study, Dr. Schumpeter places the distinction between statics and dynamics. Actual life is full of change and progress, but an understanding of its phenomena is best gained by first investigating the forces that would control it if it were entirely unchanging. In studying water in violent movement it is necessary to have at the outset a knowledge of its properties in a state of rest; and it is desirable to proceed in a like way in studying the tumultuous changes in society.

The author's conception of the static state is a peculiar one. This term is usually made to designate an economic condition in which wealth may continue indefinitely to be produced and consumed, provided there are no alterations in the modes of production and consumption and no changes in its instruments or its agents. There is nothing to hinder a static state, as thus defined, from continuing for a long period. One generation of men may pass from the scene and another may appear, but the incoming workers merely step into the places from which earlier ones have retired. In like manner instruments of production may wear out and be discarded, but new ones take their places without increase or diminution of number and without alteration of form or interruption of work. In order, however, that

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this replacement of instruments of production may be effected, there must always be a group of men who devote themselves especially to the work of repairing worn instruments and replacing them when they have to be laid aside.

The peculiarity of Dr. Schumpeter's view of the static condition is that it excludes this operation of repairing and replacing the instruments used. All making good of wear and tear is, in his view, a dynamic operation. A given stock of tools of industry is thought of as one moment in existence, but no labor is thought of as employed to keep up this stock. It follows that such a state cannot be conceived of as continuing for any length of time. The passage of a week or of a day involves some inroad on the number or quality of the instruments available for use, and the static state thus conceived can exist only for a moment. The conception involves banishing from sight an important section of the industrial field, since not even for the passing moment are makers of productive instruments assumed as existing. There are no factories for making shovels, saws, ships, cars, looms, engines *etc.* Not one of the myriad tools of trade, in the broadest sense of that term, can be thought of as in process of production. Neither can any steel, wood, stone, ore or crude material of any kind which is destined to go into such instruments. A bold use of the so-called "isolating method"—a willingness to assume that certain phenomena of real life are absent, for the sake of studying the remaining phenomena by themselves—is eminently commendable. Moreover, in making a selection of phenomena for examination a theoretical writer has a free field; he may exclude from sight whatever it is really useful thus to banish. It seems questionable, however, whether a study of a static condition which cannot even be thought of as having any duration whatever will be useful; and it is more than doubtful whether a treatment of industrial society which distorts the form of it, by requiring that all workers who in actual life make the productive instruments should be forced into those branches which create only consumers' goods, will serve a good purpose as a basis for a later study of real life.

Dr. Schumpeter strenuously objects to the statement that capital goods, as they wear out, are in any true sense "self-replacing." If this statement meant that a worn-out hoe made another hoe and an unseaworthy ship itself created another ship, without the intervention of the class of hoe makers or ship builders, the objection would be entirely valid. The expression, however, may be so used as to mean only that a hoe, during its career as a farmer's helper, does something

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which causes the tool-makers to make another hoe; and if so the statement does not introduce into the discussion anything but an obvious fact. There is a clearly traceable causal connection between the function of the first implement and the genesis of the second, and the statement used may mean nothing more than this.

With this rejection of the idea of the self-replacement is connected the rejection of the idea of capital as a permanent entity yielding a continuous income. "The permanence of capital," says Dr. Schumpeter, "is a fiction," and it certainly would be so if the expression involved the permanence of a particular instrument or "capital good." Here also the objection applies to a form of expression and not to the thing described. The fact that a certain stock of goods exists to-day, that a stock of a similar kind will exist to-morrow and that the same will be true of each following day may be all that is asserted, and in that case the only doubtful point is whether the term, "permanent fund," is a proper one to be used in describing this fact. What actually takes place is not in doubt.

It is in the study of value and distribution that Dr. Schumpeter's greatest service is rendered, and in connection with the former topic the reader will perceive a noteworthy breadth of view. This appears in connection with the discussion of the ultimate basis of value. While the author holds the utility theory, and indeed makes it so comprehensive as to include much of the theory of wages and interest, he does not deny that cost is an element in the problem. As the value of consumers' good can be reflected backward to the tool that helps to make them, the cost of the tool may be traced forward as an element affecting the supply of the consumer's good. Cost and utility have, in a way, reciprocal relations.

Although the theory of interest is not elaborated, there is, in the part of the work which the author calls "a prolegomena" for interest theories, what promises to render service to economic thought notwithstanding its present incompleteness. Dr. Schumpeter expresses the intention of publishing a later work in which the theory will be fully developed. In the prolegomena he objects to the idea that capital is inherently productive. It does not yield interest "as cherry trees yield cherries"; and with this statement every reader will agree. Certainly capital will not yield anything of itself if labor abandons it. It will never yield anything to the production of which labor has not contributed, and of the price of which labor does not claim an undivided share. If, however, labor and capital continue to work together, each may be the cause of the creation of a distinguishable fraction of

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an amount jointly created. Given the action of one of the two agents, it tells no false story to call the other inherently productive, since it is its nature to contribute a distinguishable amount to the product.

A highly interesting part of the work is its rejection of the "law of diminishing returns," and this goes so far as to cause even the Ricardian law of rent to go by the board. It introduces, as the basic idea in the theory of rent, the concept *Bodenleistungen*—land services. It is because land makes a positive contribution to produce that the owner can claim something for its services, rather than because a part of the produce remains after the other shares have been taken away. It is not in the highest degree scientific to regard the rent of land as determined "residually." Anything that is left in the hands of the employer of labor and capital will remain there unless some one else is able to make a positive claim to it. The only truly residual share, that is, the only one which is determined in no other way than as remainder after positive claims have been met, remains as a profit in the entrepreneur's hands. The expression, land service, is extremely well qualified to describe the fact that enables the landlord to claim an income and get it from the farmer. Much interest, however, will attach to the manner in which land services are computed; and I venture to express the belief that one good way to do it is to apply in a reverse order the law of diminishing returns used in Ricardo's formula. Instead of taking a piece of land of fixed size and putting on it labor, man by man, and capital, dose by dose, we may take a fixed amount of labor and capital and give them more and more land to work upon. If we take a level prairie and give a man with a certain equipment of capital a forty-acre tract for tillage, and then enlarge his farm year by year, without giving him any other labor or any more capital, we shall find that the successive tracts of land brought under his working add less and less per acre to the crops he can raise. There is such a thing as a marginal product of land, and determining this amount is one way of finding what is scientifically due to land itself.

In Dr. Schumpeter's theory, interest is a dynamic income and is merged in the amount which is due to entrepreneur's services. The only possible method of treating interest as a static income at all is, as Dr. Schumpeter discerningly affirms, a recognition of the existence of capital as a permanent fund. Foreshadowed in the preliminary sketch is some solution of the interest problem based primarily on the study of concrete instruments of production and the relations which they sustain to the consumers' goods, into which, as in the theories of Professor von Böhm-Bawerk, they will ultimately ripen.

JOHN B. CLARK.

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Schutzzoll und Freihandel: Die Voraussetzungen und Grenzen ihrer Berechtigung. Von RICHARD SCHÜLLER. Vienna, F. Tempsky; Leipzig, G. Freytag; 1905.—304 pp.

This valuable work consists essentially of three parts: first, an illuminating study of costs of production; second, an unsuccessful attack on the theory of international trade; and third, an attempt to formulate a rational trade policy on the basis of the theory developed in the antecedent discussion.

The study of costs is the best part of the book. The difference between greatest and least entrepreneur's costs varies widely from one industry to another, depending on differences in natural resources, freight, labor and management, and capital and credit, ranged in descending order of importance. Hence a scale of industries: (1) agriculture and mining; (2) reduction works; (3) industries producing heavy goods of low value; (4) industries producing fancy wares; (5) industries producing valuable staples. The first show widest variation of costs between different producers; the last, least. Because of diminishing returns, increased production at any given time means higher maximum costs; and the wider the spread of costs, the greater the rise in maximum costs in proportion to the increase of production. Consequently, a given rise in price will induce least increase of production in those industries standing highest in the above scale; *i. e.* those in which natural resources are of determining importance.

The gain of foreign trade consists in the lower prices paid by consumers; the loss, in the suppression of domestic industry. If a tariff increases production by a value greater than the total increase of price paid by consumers, the social income is increased, and, furthermore, its distribution is improved. This is most likely to be true in the industries at the bottom of the author's scale, while in agriculture and mining free trade may reduce prices greatly without greatly lessening domestic production. Such in brief is the theory. A review can give no idea of the ingenuity and suggestiveness of the study of costs.

To stake one's theory of protection on the success of a broadside attack on the theory of international trade is, scientifically speaking, a bit daring. Dr. Schüller undertakes to show that, emigration of labor and capital aside, the total production of a country may be permanently lessened by imports. He hopelessly confuses immediate with ultimate results and, after mentioning the most important element in the problem, the diversion of labor and capital, treats it as non-existent. No one doubts that the removal of a tariff may make certain invested

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capital and acquired skill worthless, may reduce certain rents and lower certain wages; but to argue from this that imports permanently lessen home production is like arguing that new machinery and the competition of skilful entrepreneurs reduce output.

To justify a tariff, says Dr. Schüller, the increase of domestic production must exceed the difference between the costs of production of such increase and the price at which the same goods could have been obtained from abroad (page 138). After much study, the reviewer can extract no meaning from this statement. The criterion our author actually uses is that the increase of production must exceed the increase of price paid by the consumer on the whole supply, wherever obtained. The correct criterion, in the reviewer's opinion, is this: the increase of domestic production of the protected goods during the period considered plus the government tariff receipts must exceed the increase, if any, that would have occurred in the protected industry without any tariff, *plus the product elsewhere of the labor and capital diverted into that industry*. The omission of the italicized element is a time-worn protectionist fallacy. Its recognition upsets Dr. Schüller's whole theory of protection and his system of measuring its advantages. His study shows that free trade is more directly advantageous to a country in some industries than in others; it does not in the least justify protection. That cannot be done outside the field of time relations, into which the author does not enter.

In critizing thus sharply this part of Schüller's theory, the reviewer would not minimize the value of his work as a whole. His study of costs will have to be taken into account by all future trade theorists. He has indicated clearly the economic relations that condition international trade and has pointed out the criteria to be noted in determining its advantages. The whole treatment is sane and balanced and, in general, liberal.

The second half of the book contains a short historical sketch of the growth of modern trade policy, with a judicial survey of contemporary tariffs, indicating the overwhelming influence of greedy protected interests in writing the schedules. None the less Dr. Schüller believes England to have been seriously injured by her uncompromising adherence to free trade; accordingly he seems to think the modern world between the devil and the deep sea in regard to foreign trade. In other chapters he studies in interesting fashion the technique of trade policy, export tariffs and premiums, the balance of trade, commercial treaties, reciprocity, "most favored nation" treatment, and the relations between kartells and tariffs. Incidentally, in a foot-note to page

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148, he neatly upsets the theory that a tariff should equal the difference in cost of production at home and abroad.

HENRY RAYMOND MUSSEY.

COLUMBIA UNIVERSITY.

When Railroads Were New. By CHARLES FREDERICK CARTER. New York, Henry Holt and Company, 1909.—xiv, 324 pp.

Railway Rates: The Method of Calculating Equitable Rates and Charges for Merchandise Carried on Railways. By JOSEPH HORROCKS. London, Swan Sonnenschein and Company, 1909.—ix, 485 pp.

Mr. Carter, in addition to having had much valuable experience in railroad building, possesses a keen appreciation of the really human side of things; and his book is a decided success. It will take an important place among the useful works on the American railroads. It will also be of great value to students of the history of the American people. Much of our historical writing is now being recast, to make it less one-sided—to make it cover our life in all of its phases. To the mind of the historian one thing in our life is now most clear—that railroad transportation has been one of the greatest economic, political and social factors in our life. And such a book as Mr. Carter's makes this thing stand out with greater clearness and vigor.

In the narrative of the building of the railroads, the chronological order has been followed. The book opens up with a general chapter on the dawn of the railroad era, and then follow chapters dealing with the struggles of the building of the more important systems—with the difficulties of financing the roads and of constructing their roadbeds, their locomotives and rolling stock. Throughout the book is full of instruction, and withal it is intensely human. At no point is it filled with abstract analysis or cold logical discussion. Probably the most important of its chapters are those which treat of the building of the Pennsylvania Railway, of the first transcontinental line (the Union Pacific and the Central Pacific) and of the Canadian Pacific.

Books on the more formal aspects of railroads have been more or less abundant, but we have had nothing until this one on the human side of the coming of railroads to this country, on the social, political, and economic quarrels which were present in their coming. For this reason and because of its intrinsic merits, Mr. Carter's book deserves our consideration.

At first glance, Mr. Horrocks's *Railway Rates* appears to be a very

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practical book. A closer examination, however, makes it clear that it possesses no striking practical value either to the railway manager or to the governmental administrator. Since the late Mr. Horrocks had had an extensive and valuable experience with the transportation of merchandise by rail, one would expect his book to possess more practical value. The chief burden of the book is to formulate an equitable method of finding the cost of freight service, and to make this cost the sole basis of railway freight rates. To quote him:

> The manner of calculating equitable rates and charges for merchandise comprised in eight divisions of traffic, firstly, when conveyed by the South Northern Railway Company, and, secondly, when conveyed by the South Northern and West Eastern Railway companies, conjointly, under correspondent conditions, has now been shown by means of examples. . . . It is hoped, however, that the procedure already set forth will render it comparatively easy to calculate equitable rates and charges for every description of merchandise carried under any conditions.

"The manner" has been shown in a way altogether too abstract; the author's facts are largely illustrative and are therefore not sufficiently accurate or concrete to make his "manner" of much practical value to the railway manager. The chief fault of the book is not, however, in the method of calculating the cost of freight service, but in its assumption that the correct and only equitable basis of rate making is the cost of service. It is now fairly well agreed among railway managers and students of transportation that rates should not be made upon the basis of cost alone. Cost cannot, in the first place, be easily or accurately ascertained. This fact is made very clear by Mr. Horrocks's large book. And, if the cost of service could be accurately ascertained, it should not be made the sole basis of rate making. The value of the service to the shipper is from many points of view just as sound a theoretical basis for rates as is the cost; and it is almost as easily ascertained. The ideal basis of rate making is probably a combination of cost and value. But the practical railway manager uses still another basis of rate making—what the traffic will bear. And this basis, though perhaps not ideal, is the one upon which price or rate making is done by practically all other phases of business.

Since Mr. Horrocks has not told us how to calculate the cost of service with ease or accuracy, and since he does not admit the validity of any other basis of rate making, his book is not of great practical value to us or to Englishmen.

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The Methods of Taxation compared with the established Principles of Justice. By DAVID MCG. MEANS. New York, Dodd, Mead and Company, 1909.—380 pp.

Treatises on taxation, may be divided into three classes: First, works which attempt to further some pet project of the advocate; second, scientific books which combine principle with application to existing facts; and third, theoretic works which indulge in broad generalizations and content themselves with remaining aloof from practical problems. The book of Mr. Means is a good example of the third class. Like Mr. Means's earlier volume on *Industrial Freedom*, published in 1897, it lets facts and figures, with a very few exceptions, severely alone. So far as it goes, the book is a moderate and sensible one; that is to say, the author recognizes the weakness of the general property tax but at the same time refuses to accept either the single tax or the income tax as an alternative.

The book, indeed, is not free from errors; as, for instance, in its failure to present the real weakness in Ricardo's excess-of-tax-above-price doctrine, and in its acceptance of John Stuart Mill's theory as to the necessity of exempting savings from an income tax, both of which mistakes have been frequently exposed. Moreover, Mr. Means's whole treatment of the English income tax would lead one to believe that his book was written half a century ago. The experience of the last generation and the complete change, even in English theory, seem not to exist for him.

Three chief criticisms, however, are to be urged against the book. In the first place, the author appears to be utterly unaware of the fact that there has been any discussion of these problems outside of England and the United States. We search in vain for any reference to the newer ideas of fiscal science on the continent of Europe. In the second place, Mr. Means, in his pursuit of the principles of justice, disregards completely most of the important problems which are confronting our American legislators at present. And thirdly, even in the matter of general principles, his conclusions are chiefly negative, calling attention to the defects of each method in turn and failing to elaborate any constructive system. The book, therefore, with all its good points, of which there are many, will, like Mr. Means's earlier work, probably fail to create any lasting or definite impression. It will not help the student much, because it contains virtually nothing new; and it will not help the legislator, because it is essentially destructive and critical.

E. R. A. S.

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RECORD OF POLITICAL EVENTS

[From May 1, 1909, to November 3, 1909]

I. INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS

THE MOROCCAN SITUATION.—The French intervention at Casablanca (see the RECORD of December, 1907, p. 750), was followed during the past summer by a **Spanish intervention** in the Riff district. Work in certain mines near the Spanish town of Melilla had been begun by Spanish companies early in the preceding year under the protection of the roghi but was suspended at the time of his defeat by Mulai Hafid in October. About the first of June, the Spaniards placed military posts at La Restinga and Cabo de Agua and resumed work at the mines. Early in July the Moorish tribesmen killed several workmen and cut to pieces a small punitive expedition from Melilla. On July 23, before reinforcements could be sent from Spain, the Moors desperately attacked the Spaniards. There was more fighting on the twenty-seventh and twenty-eighth, in which General Pintos lost his life; and the Spanish casualties during July were estimated by the Tangier correspondent of the London *Times* at about ninety officers and a thousand men. Anti-military riots and disorders at Barcelona (see *infra*, p. 756) delayed effective action on the part of the Madrid government; but at length, in August, General Marina, reinforced by some 25,000 troops, was able to take the offensive. It was reported that Mulai Hafid had refused to recognize any mining concessions granted by the roghi and had inspired the outbreak; but this he denied, and the Spanish government declared that they expected to achieve their objects without quarreling with the sultan. In a note to the diplomatic representatives at Tangier in September, the Maghzen protested against what it described as a violation by Spain of the Act of Algeciras and asked for the intervention of the powers to safeguard Moorish territory and to stop bloodshed. A newspaper statement of General d'Amade, the commander of the French forces during the Casablanca campaign, that the Spanish intervention was decidedly prejudicial to French interests created a sensation; he was immediately charged by his government with a breach of discipline and placed on the unattached list. Spanish forces under General Tovar occupied Zeluan late in September but suffered a severe reverse near that town in October, General Diaz Vicario and three other officers and three hundred privates being killed. The advance was later resumed.—The **British** and **French** representatives protested in August to the sultan against the torture of political prisoners, especially the recently captured usurper, Bu Hamara (see *infra*, p. 759), who was confined in a cage.—The arbitration tribunal at the Hague handed down in May its decision regarding the **Casablanca**

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dispute between France and Germany (see last RECORD, p. 344), to the effect that the secretary of the German consulate was wrong in trying to embark in a German ship deserters from the French foreign legion, though the French authorities were also wrong in the form given to their opposition.

OTHER AFRICAN RELATIONS.—Official correspondence between the British and Belgian governments concerning the **Congo** was published in July at London and at Brussels. Sir Edward Grey stated that Great Britain was anxious to recognize the Belgian government of the Congo but could not do so until the abuses of taxation and forced labor had ceased. —Negotiations were opened in July between Great Britain, France and Germany with the view of restricting the traffic in spirits and arms in **West Africa.**—The United States commission appointed to investigate conditions in **Liberia** (see last RECORD, p. 349), arrived there in May and was enthusiastically received. The commission spent several weeks in the country, investigating frontier problems and economic affairs. Unofficial communications to the press are pessimistic in tone as to the future of Liberia and indicate that there is a considerable sentiment in favor of positive intervention by the authorities of the United States.

ASIATIC RELATIONS.—To the other disputes between **China** and **Japan** mentioned in the last RECORD (p. 344), was added a disagreement over the Mukden-Antung railway. China declined in June to recognize Japan's treaty right either to police the branch lines or to convert the road into a permanent track, alleging that the treaty contemplated repairs only and not reconstruction. After two months' negotiation, Japan announced that the necessary reconstruction of the railway would proceed without further waiting for Chinese coöperation. China agreed toward the close of August not to build a railway in the vicinity of or parallel to the South Manchurian railway. A settlement of the question of the title to the Pratas Islands in the China Sea between Hong-Kong and the Philippines was effected in July: Japan recognized China's claims on condition that China should pay a fair price for Japanese improvements. An agreement on the long-disputed status of the territory of Chien-tao was signed at Pekin on September 4: China promised to open four towns to Japanese trade and to permit Koreans to settle freely in the region.—A preliminary agreement with regard to the jurisdiction of the **Russian** railway authorities in Manchuria was signed at Pekin on May 11.—A share of the large railway loan floated by the Chinese government in June was demanded for American financiers by the **United States** government. (For similar intervention in Cuba see *infra*, p. 733.)—**Great Britain** formally took over in July the three Malay states of Kelantan, Tringganu and Kedah, which had been ceded by **Siam.** The reception of the British governor, Sir John Anderson, was reported as enthusiastic.—The troubled conditions in **Persia** throughout the summer were attended by continued Russian and British interference (see *infra*, pp. 759, 760).

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EUROPEAN RELATIONS.—The storm-center in the near east shifted from Servia to **Crete.** The four protecting powers, carrying out their pledges despite the opposition of the Ottoman government, withdrew the international troops from the island on July 26, after having declared, however, that they would continue to watch over the maintenance of order and the safety of the Musulmans. The Cretans promptly raised the **Greek** flag and proclaimed anew their union with the Hellenic kingdom. The **Turkish** government announced its firm resolve to preserve its rights in Crete while respecting Cretan privileges and threatened to break off diplomatic relations if Greece failed to disavow ambition in the direction of Crete. The Greek government replied that it was not implicated in the annexation movement and would preserve the same correct attitude as in the past. On August 17 an international squadron arrived at Canea, and on the following day a landing force cut down the Greek flag. Coupled with the Cretan crisis, the activity of the army party in Greece and the continued disorders on the Macedonian frontier did not augur well for the relations between Greece and the Ottoman empire.—The Porte recognized in August King Ferdinand's title of king of the **Bulgarians.**—The Austro-Hungarian government, after some hesitation, accorded permission to the Russian government in July to deliver a shipment of arms as a present to **Montenegro.**—A violent **Servian** demonstration took place at Belgrade on October 7, the anniversary of the annexation of Bosnia and Herzegovina by Austria-Hungary.—The **visits of the tsar** to several countries were used by the European press generally to call attention to improved international relations. In June the tsar entertained the German emperor at Reval and visited the king of Sweden at Stockholm; in July and August he visited President Fallières at Cherbourg and King Edward at London and toasted the triple *entente;* he was cordially received by the king of Italy in October.—Special favors conferred in October on the new German chancellor, Herr von Bethmann-Hollweg, by Emperor Francis Joseph marked the intimacy of **Austria-Hungary** and **Germany.**—British church representatives were entertained in Germany in June.—Austria-Hungary declined in May to take an official part in the proposed Italian exhibition at Rome to celebrate the fiftieth anniversary of the union of the kingdom, out of deference apparently to the feeling of the pope.—The fiftieth anniversary of the battle of Solferino was observed both in Italy and in France.—The French government in July adopted a new extradition convention with Great Britain and ratified the Franco-Canadian commercial agreement.—Norway suggested in July a conference of the powers interested in the development of **Spitzbergen,** such as Great Britain, United States, Germany, Russia, Sweden, Denmark, Belgium and the Netherlands; but objections raised by Sweden and Russia as to the scope of the Norwegian proposals left the matter in abeyance.—The Prusso-Swedish train-ferry service was opened on July 7.

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AMERICAN RELATIONS.—In August the government of China, without assigning any reasons, recalled its minister to the **United States,** Wu Ting Fang, and appointed in his stead Chang Yin Tang.—The relations between the United States and **Japan** have been marked by manifestations of good feeling. Two Japanese cruisers were welcomed in San Francisco in May, and one of the squadrons of the Pacific fleet was sent by the United States to Yokohama, where it was received with great cordiality.—The *modus vivendi* between the United States and Great Britain regarding the **Newfoundland fisheries** (see last RECORD, p. 346) has been continued until the question can be passed upon finally by an arbitral tribunal.—It was reported from official sources in June that President Gomez, of **Cuba,** had been informed that the United States was dissatisfied at the action of his government in contracting for military supplies in Europe and had been reminded of the large debt due the United States on account of the recent intervention. After some negotiation, the European contracts were annulled. (For similar policy in China, see *supra,* p. 731.)—During his tour through the United States (see *infra,* p. 734) President Taft met President Diaz of **Mexico** on October 16 at El Paso, Texas.—In May **Nicaragua** sent a commissioner to Washington to settle the claim of the Emery Company to mahogany timber concessions in that country. A protocol was signed on May 25 by which Nicaragua promised either to reach a settlement with the company in four months or to submit the question to arbitration. A final agreement was reached in September, according to which the company is to receive $600,000 for its claims. When serious riots broke out in Nicaragua in May, the United States sent a cruiser to the scene to protect American interests.—At Caracas, **Venezuela,** a protocol was signed during the summer by which that country agreed to pay $475,000 to the New York and Venezuela Company and to take over its property, the money to be regarded as compensation for the company's property rights which were destroyed by the late Castro government. Another protocol signed in September secured to the Orinoco Company a promise of the payment of $385,000. Both claims had been long pending (see last RECORD, p. 345).—In the frontier arbitration between **Peru** and **Bolivia,** the president of the Argentine presented in July his decision, by which the boundary was to follow the rivers Heath and Madre de Dios up to the mouth of the Toromonas and was to run thence in a straight line as far as the intersection of the river Tehuamanu with the sixty-ninth meridian, thence northwards to the territorial sovereignty of another power. The award, which was favorable in every particular to Peru, was considered by Bolivians to have been influenced by political motives and to be manifestly unfair; and a mob at La Paz attacked the Argentine and Peruvian legations and pillaged the houses of citizens of those countries. For a time war seemed imminent, but the Bolivian government restored order, and the president offered apology to the other countries. It was later agreed to fix the boundary through direct negotiation between Peru and Bolivia.—The **Peruvian** gov-

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ernment canceled the *exequatur* of the **Swedish** consul-general at whose house insurgents took refuge on May 29.—A preliminary treaty between **Venezuela** and **Colombia**, signed at Caracas on June 2, marked the resumption of diplomatic relations, which had been broken off between these two countries at the beginning of the Castro régime. By one important provision of the treaty, Colombia agreed to cede certain territory on the Orinoco, Inridi and Negro rivers to Venezuela.—A proclamation was issued in Curaçao on June 6 permitting **Dutch** steamers to enter Venezuelan ports.—An arbitration treaty between **Brazil** and **Great Britain** was signed on June 18. It contained a proviso that the Dominions of the British empire should concur in matters affecting their interests.

II. THE UNITED STATES

THE ADMINISTRATION.—In September **President Taft** started on a long tour of the country, which continued through October. During this tour he made a number of addresses, outlining his views on public questions. In a speech at Winona, Minnesota, he defended the Payne Act (see *infra*, pp. 737–739) as the best tariff measure ever passed by a Republican Congress. He spoke in Omaha in favor of the establishment of a separate interstate commerce court, the strengthening of the powers of the Interstate Commerce Commission and a modification of the Sherman anti-trust law. A speech at Denver defended the corporation tax, which was declared to be preferable to a general individual-income tax. An address at Spokane favored the policy of the conservation of national resources and the reclamation of arid lands. The last two weeks in October he spent in the South, speaking at important cities.—It was announced by the **Isthmian Canal** Commission in May that the total amount of excavation up to that time was 73,124,849 cubic yards, of which more than one-half had been taken out in the preceding twelve months. It was estimated that 101,541,746 cubic yards remained to be excavated and that, at the present rate of progress, the excavation would be completed by August, 1911.—Governor Charles N. Haskell of Oklahoma was re-indicted on May 27 by the federal grand jury at Tulsa for fraudulently obtaining titles to town lots in Muskogee (see last RECORD, p. 350). In October his counsel argued a motion to quash the indictments. Other **land frauds** prosecutions were pushed by the administration during the period under review. A number of persons interested in the coal lands in Routt County, Colorado, were indicted at Denver on May 30 for defrauding the government out of coal lands. Equity suits against the Utah Fuel Company to annul title to coal lands in Utah were settled in July by restitution. W. Sully, G. W. Daily, R. T. Ireland and F. T. Wells were arrested in New York in September for fraudulently obtaining title to Wyoming coal lands. Ex-United States Attorney Hall was sentenced in Portland in June to a fine and imprisonment for land frauds.—In August a bitter newspaper controversy was started over the policies of Secretary Ballinger and Chief Forester Pinchot

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concerning the withdrawal of certain **public lands** from entry. It appeared that during the latter part of Mr. Roosevelt's administration Mr. Ballinger, as land commissioner, was in disagreement with Mr. Pinchot on this question, but that Mr. Pinchot had the support of Secretary Garfield. On the last day of his term President Roosevelt withdrew about one million acres of land in Montana and Wyoming, to prevent the acquisition of water-power sites by a great corporation, but under Secretary Ballinger's rule this order was rescinded a few days later and the lands were thrown open for entry. In defence of his action, Secretary Ballinger stated that the large withdrawals made by President Roosevelt were not warranted by a strict interpretation of the law. In a speech at the Irrigation Congress at Spokane in August Mr. Pinchot said: "To follow blindly the letter of the law without intelligent regard both for its spirit and for the public welfare is nearly as dangerous as to disregard the law altogether." Mr. Pinchot further warned Congress of "the eager, rapid, unwearied absorption, by the water-power trust, of rights which belong to all the people." The press assumed that Mr. Pinchot's speech was a direct attack upon Secretary Ballinger, and extended controversy at once arose over the respective policies of the two officials, but the discussion led to no definite results. During the newspaper war, charges were made by L. R. Glavis, chief of the field division of the General Land Office, that Secretary Ballinger had aided the Cunningham interests to secure patents for Alaska coal lands based on fraudulent and unlawful claims. About the same time Ormsby McHarg, assistant secretary of the Department of Commerce and Labor, attacked the general policy of the conservation of forests and water supply, declaring that "the abundance of our forests is such that the alarmist's statements as to the approaching exhaustion of supply are utterly unfounded." Early in September President Taft accepted the resignation of Mr. McHarg. On September 15 he made public a letter to Secretary Ballinger exonerating him and authorizing him to remove Glavis. Later the president issued a statement expressing full confidence in Forester Pinchot and a desire to retain his services.—President Taft has directed that after July 1, 1910, the **army** shall not have more than 80,000 enlisted men, a reduction of about 8,000 from the present number.—It was announced in September that Secretary Knox had organized in the **State Department** an office of counselor, to have charge of important legal questions and special supervision over the negotiation of treaties, and that Mr. H. M. Hoyt had been appointed to this office. At the same time a far eastern bureau was established, to foster trade in the Orient.—Reports gathered by Postmaster-General Hitchcock early in September indicated a deficiency of about $20,000,000 in the **Post Office Department**, a larger sum than ever before. In consequence of this situation, it was assumed that the extension of the rural free-delivery service would be at least temporarily arrested.—The principal **appointments** made by President Taft were: Robert Bacon, ambassador to France; Oscar S. Straus, ambassador to Turkey; John G.

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A. Leishman, ambassador to Italy; John L. Griffiths, consul-general in London; A. P. Andrews, director of the Mint; Lee McClung, treasurer of the United States; E. Dana Durand, director of the Census; H. C. Emery, James B. Reynolds and A. H. Sanders, as tariff commissioners under the provisions of the Payne Act (see *infra*, pp. 738, 739); R. G. Valentine, commissioner of Indian affairs; W. S. Washburn, civil service commissioner; Walter E. Clark, governor of Alaska; William Williams, commissioner of immigration at the port of New York. Charles R. Crane was appointed minister to China but was recalled while on the way to his post because of an alleged indiscretion in revealing diplomatic secrets to a newspaper reporter.—It was announced in August that the census appointments in some of the southern states, namely, Virginia, South Carolina, Georgia, Florida, Alabama, Mississippi, Arkansas, Louisiana and Texas, would be divided equally between Republicans and Democrats. President Taft declared, in a letter to Secretary Nagel, that all supervisors and enumerators who should take an active part in politics during the term of their employment should at once be dismissed from the service.

THE DEPENDENCIES.—A strike of Japanese plantation laborers broke out in **Hawaii** in May. Papers seized by the high sheriff were alleged to contain evidence of a concerted movement on the part of the Japanese to overthrow the internal government of the islands. A number of the strike leaders were indicted for criminal conspiracy and four of them were convicted.—The Legislative Assembly of the **Philippine Islands** passed a number of important measures, among which were a general bankruptcy act and a railway guarantee law which assures the extension of the Luzon system to the extreme southern portion of the island. Just before adjournment on May 20, the Assembly passed a resolution instructing the Philippine delegates at Washington to work for the independence of the islands; and, at the laying of the corner-stone of the new capitol at Manila on May 21, Speaker Osmena expressed a belief that in the years to come it would be the seat of government of a free and independent nation. The total amount of the budget was 16,500,000 *pesos*. It was decided to change the date of meeting of the Assembly from the spring to the autumn. The Assembly selected Benito Legarda and Manuel Quezon to be resident commissioners at Washington. An investigation into the causes of the mutiny of a part of a company of constabulary, which occurred at Davao on the southeastern coast of Mindanao in the spring, led to the dismissal of several officers, either on the ground of incompetency or because they had punished privates too severely.—In view of the deadlock in the government of **Porto Rico** (see last RECORD, p. 351) President Taft sent a special message to Congress, on May 10, in which he advised the passage of a bill providing that, when the insular legislature adjourns without making the necessary appropriations, sums equal to the appropriations of the previous year shall be available for current expenditures. He also stated that the United States had gone too fast for the good of the people in the extension of polit-

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ical liberty. Congress passed a law in accordance with his recommendation. In August the leaders of the popular party asked the courts for injunctions restraining the executive officers from making expenditures under the act, but their prayer was denied in September. The leaders also protested against the language of the president's message, and American government was roundly denounced in the local press and at huge mass meetings. The delegates of the popular party at Washington publicly stated, on their return to the island in June, that President Taft had promised to recommend to Congress that citizenship be bestowed on the inhabitants of Porto Rico. Governor Post, who had had considerable trouble in his office (see RECORD of December, 1908, p. 753), announced in July that the president had informed him that he could hold his position as long as he pleased; but shortly afterward he resigned, and it was immediately given out in Washington that George R. Colton would be appointed governor.

CONGRESS.—The debate on the **tariff bill** continued in the Senate for almost three months (see last RECORD, p. 354). The bill was first considered section by section in the committee of the whole. Under the leadership of Senator Aldrich, the amendments proposed by the finance committee were generally adopted. But a number of "insurgent" Republicans from the Middle West, particularly Senators Dolliver and Cummins of Iowa, La Follette of Wisconsin, Beveridge of Indiana and Bristow of Kansas, constantly attacked the proposals of the committee and voted with the minority. The amendments to the cotton schedule, which changed the *ad valorem* duties to specific, met with particularly severe criticism. Although Senator Aldrich claimed that this change did not raise the duties, the "insurgents" insisted that his statement was incorrect. Amendments providing for an **income tax** were introduced by Senators Cummins and Bailey. To prevent the adoption of an income-tax provision, President Taft sent a special message to Congress on June 16, recommending the passage of a constitutional amendment giving Congress power to levy a tax on incomes and advising a two-per-cent tax on the earnings of corporations. In referring to the income tax, the president said that the decision of the Supreme Court in the income-tax cases had deprived the federal government of a power which it was generally supposed to possess and which might be indispensable to the nation's life in great crises; that it was much wiser to accept the decision of the court and remedy the defect by amendment than to enact income-tax legislation on the assumption that the court would reverse itself; and that he was convinced that a great majority of the people of the country were in favor of an income tax and ready to adopt the amendment. In dealing with the proposed **corporation tax**, the president cited as a special merit of the law the fact that it would enable the federal government to supervise the annual accounts and business transactions of all corporations, and that, by the publicity thus given to the business transactions and profits of every corporation in the country, the federal government would make a long step toward that control which would pre-

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vent further abuses of power on the part of corporations. The consideration of the tariff schedules was completed on June 29. The corporation-tax provision, which had in the meantime been reported by the finance committee, was then taken up, and on July 2 it was incorporated in the bill by a vote of 60 to 11. Three days later the proposed amendment to the constitution giving Congress power to levy an income tax was passed in the Senate by a unanimous vote. On July 12, after four hours' debate, it was approved by the House of Representatives by a vote of 317 to 14. The leading speech against the income-tax amendment in the House was made by Mr. McCall of Massachusetts. The following members voted against the amendment: Allen of Maine; Gardner, McCall and Weeks, of Massachusetts; Henry and Hill, of Connecticut; Olcott and Southwick, of New York; Barchfeld, Dalzell, McCreary and Wheeler, of Pennsylvania; Calderhead, of Kansas; Fordney, of Michigan. The consideration of the tariff bill in committee of the whole was completed on July 6, and the modified measure was then laid before the open Senate. The principal change made in the bill during the closing debate was the striking-out of the exemption of holding companies from the corporation tax. The Payne-Aldrich bill was finally passed by the Senate on July 8 with 847 amendments by a vote of 45 to 34. Ten Republicans, Beveridge, Bristow, Brown, Burkett, Clapp, Crawford, Cummins, Dolliver, La Follette and Nelson, voted against it; one Democrat, McEnery, voted for it. The two houses thereupon appointed a conference committee, which was composed of Senators Aldrich, Burrows, Penrose, Cullom, Bailey, Money and Daniel, and Representatives Payne, Dalzell, McCall, Boutell, Calderhead, Fordney, Clark, Underwood and Biggs. At this juncture President Taft publicly expressed himself to a group of congressmen as in favor of a substantial downward revision. It was said that he was using his influence with the committee to induce it, in every instance of disagreement between the two houses, to agree upon the lower rates. The conference report was laid before Congress on July 30. It put hides and petroleum on the free list; lowered the duties of the Senate bill on lumber, on printing paper, on iron ore and on leather and its manufactures; and reduced the corporation tax to one per cent. It struck out the high rates on gloves and hosiery. The bill in its final form was passed by the House of Representatives on July 31 by a vote of 195 to 183. Nineteen Republicans, the majority of them from the Middle West, voted against the bill; two Democrats voted for it. In the Senate the debate on the conference report lasted until August 5. It was severely attacked by a number of Republicans as not being a sincere fulfilment of the party pledges. The bill was finally passed by a vote of 47 to 31, seven Republicans voting against it, and was immediately signed by the president. In addition to the tariff schedules, the Payne-Aldrich Act contained provisions for minimum and maximum rates; a limited free trade with the Philippines; the establishment of a court of custom appeals, to be composed of five judges; the issue of Panama Canal bonds; the appoint-

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ment of a tariff commission, to secure information for the enforcement of the maximum and minimum clause; the abolition of internal revenue on leaf tobacco then in hand; and a one-per-cent tax on the net income of corporations. At the time of signing this act President Taft issued a statement, declaring it to be "a sincere effort on the part of the Republican party to make a downward revision" but not "a perfect tariff bill or a complete compliance with the promises made, strictly interpreted." He commended the power granted to the executive under the maximum and minimum clause, which could be exercised in such a way as to obviate unfair and undue discrimination by foreign countries against American merchandise and products; he expressed gratification at the passage of the Philippine tariff section, which he thought would greatly increase the trade between the islands and the United States; and he reiterated his belief that the corporation tax, in addition to being a just and equitable measure, would constitute an important step in the direction of federal control over corporate enterprises. Senator Cummins, in a public address at Chicago shortly after the passage of the bill, stated that the "insurgent" Republicans would lend no encouragement to the election of Democratic members of the next Congress but would carry the tariff fight into the coming Republican conventions.—An act was passed in June providing for the taking of the thirteenth census. (For the law relating to the government of Porto Rico see *supra*, pp. 736, 737.)—On August 5 Speaker Cannon announced his committee assignments for the Sixty-first Congress. Several "insurgent" Republicans were deposed from important places, notably Representative E. N. Fowler of New Jersey, who had been chairman of the committee on banking and currency, and who was succeeded by E. B. Vreeland of New York.

FEDERAL JUDICIARY.—In the case of the United States against the proprietors of the Indianapolis *News*, who were under indictment for committing criminal libel by publishing articles relating to the alleged corruption in the **Panama canal purchase** (see last RECORD, p. 340), Judge Anderson, of the United States district court for Indiana held, in October, that the parties could not be removed to Washington, D. C., for trial.—Among the more important decisions of the Supreme Court were the following: The commodities clause of the **Hepburn Act**, making it unlawful for a railroad to transport any article produced by it or which it may own in whole or part, does not apply to commodities produced by a corporation in which the railway concerned is merely a stockholder, and, thus construed, the act is a valid regulation of commerce (United States *v.* Delaware and Hudson Railway Company; *cf.* RECORD of December, 1908, p. 762). The provision of the **Alien Immigration Act**, allowing the secretary of commerce and labor to impose penalties upon transportation companies for violations of the terms of the law, is not unconstitutional under the fifth amendment as taking property without due process of law (Oceanic Steam Navigation Company *v.* Stranahan). Between the ratification of the treaty of peace with

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Spain in 1898 and the establishment of civil government by Congress, **Porto Rico** was subject to the military control of the president, and his action in establishing a provisional court was valid (Santiago *v.* Nogueras). A statute of the state of Kentucky, making it an offense to furnish, sell or give liquor to any person who is an inebriate, as applied to a common carrier bringing liquor to such person from another state was declared to be an attempted regulation of interstate commerce and hence unconstitutional (Adams Express Company *v.* Kentucky). An act of Congress providing different methods for enforcing a drainage law against residents in the District of Columbia and non-residents does not deprive the latter of property without due process nor deny them equal protection of the law, and it is not unconstitutional (District of Columbia *v.* Brooke). A statute limiting the height of buildings, if reasonable, is a valid exercise of the police power, and it does not deny equal protection of the law when it provides a classification of residential and commercial portions on practical, not æsthetic grounds (Welch *v.* Swasey).—Justice Rufus W. Peckham of the Supreme Court died on October 24.

STATE AFFAIRS.—In nearly every state legislature which met during the winter of 1908–09, bills regulating the **liquor traffic** in one way or another were introduced, but very few of them were passed. Such regulation, particularly in the form of local option, is now a prominent issue in Idaho, Indiana, Illinois, Ohio, Nebraska, South Dakota, Texas, Minnesota, Washington, Wisconsin, Missouri, Iowa and Arkansas. In those states which have local option laws (see STATE AFFAIRS in the RECORDS of December, 1908, and June, 1909) the temperance movement seems, on the whole, to be making steady gains.—**Alabama** was the first state to ratify the sixteenth amendment to the federal constitution giving Congress power to levy an income tax (see CONGRESS, *supra*). It was approved by the lower house of the legislature on August 2 and by the Senate on August 10 and was signed by the governor on August 16.—The legislature of **Colorado** has passed an act providing that the state shall contribute to party campaign funds in proportion to the strength of the party vote; contributions by corporations or by persons who are not themselves candidates are forbidden, such a contribution and its acceptance being made a felony punishable by imprisonment in the penitentiary for a term not exceeding two years or a fine of not more than $5000; candidates may expend only a certain percentage of the first year's salary or of the fees of the offices which they are seeking; the money is to be paid by the state treasurer to the party chairmen, who are to be under bond.—The **Connecticut** General Assembly decided to refer the sixteenth amendment to the consideration of the next session.—The legislature of **Georgia** refused to pass upon the income-tax amendment.—In August, a number of counties in **Idaho** voted "dry" under the local option law.—The senatorial deadlock in **Illinois**, which had lasted for several months (see last RECORD, p. 357), was broken on May 26 by the election of Congressman William Lorimer, a Republican, by a

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vote of 108 to 90; this was accomplished by the help of several Democratic votes. On June 16 the supreme court of the state held that the recent primary election law (see RECORD of December, 1908, p. 759) was unconstitutional.—Several more counties in **Indiana** voted "dry" under the recent local option law (see last RECORD, p. 375).—The legislature of **Maine** has created a state water-storage commission for the purpose of collecting hydrographic data, so that the legislature may take steps to develop and conserve the water power of the state.—Acting on the recommendations of the Boston finance commission (see last RECORD, p. 358) the **Massachusetts** legislature passed several important statutes relating to the government of that city, and the governor of the state immediately appointed the members of the permanent finance commission created by the legislature.—Governor John A. Johnson of **Minnesota** died on September 21. The Minnesota legislature has created a women's and children's department in the state bureau of labor.—The resolution to submit to the people of the state a constitutional amendment providing for prohibition (see last RECORD, p. 357) failed to pass the upper house of the **Missouri** legislature.—A law providing for the non-partisan nomination and election of all judges, state and local, of state and county superintendents of public instruction and of regents of the state university has been passed by the **Nebraska** legislature.—Five constitutional amendments, providing for the reorganization of the judicial system of the state, for increases in the terms of the governor, senators, assemblymen and sheriffs and for increases in the pay of the senators and assemblymen, were voted on at a special election in **New Jersey** on September 14. All the amendments were defeated by a decisive majority. Governor Fort announced on October 21 that he would call a special session of the legislature to protect more adequately the water rights of the state and to provide more funds for the valuation of railroad property.—The commission appointed by Governor Hughes of **New York** to investigate exchanges (see last RECORD, p. 357) made its report on June 7. It opposed the bringing of the exchanges under direct state control but recommended that stricter control be exercised by the exchanges themselves in order to prevent the evils of overspeculation. A joint committee of the legislature visited various parts of the country during the summer to observe the workings of direct primaries. Another commission investigated the question of employers' liability and the causes and effects of unemployment.—In May John H. Sanderson, one of the men found guilty of defrauding the state of **Pennsylvania** in the construction of the new capitol, but out on bail pending action on appeal, died in New York. He is the fourth person convicted or accused of connection with those frauds who has died since their exposure. In the latter part of July William P. Snyder, formerly attorney-general, and J. M. Shumaker, formerly superintendent of public buildings, failed in their appeal to the superior court and were ordered to prison for two years for fraudulent transactions (see RECORD of December, 1908, p. 760).—The **Oklahoma** legislature passed several rather radical

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laws relating to the employment of women and children and the payment of workingmen's wages.—At a local-option election held in **South Carolina** on August 17 a majority of the "wet" counties voted in favor of prohibition.—A state-wide prohibition law went into effect in **Tennessee** on July 1. Fourteen night riders were convicted at Waverly in May. In July the supreme court reversed the conviction of eight night riders who had been convicted at Union City several months previously (see RECORD of December, 1908, p. 760).—The office of reviser of laws was created by the **Wisconsin** legislature, and a bill was passed permitting cities to adopt the Commission form of government.

MUNICIPAL AFFAIRS.—A number of political leaders in **Boston**, among them L. F. McCullough, president of the common council last year, were sentenced in June to various terms of imprisonment for defrauding the city. The finance commission (see last RECORD, p. 358) issued another report in August, charging the mayor with extravagance, laxness in executive supervision and favoritism in appointments. It recommended a reduction of salaries, revocation of unnecessary appointments and relief of the executive departments from pressure proceeding from the mayor's office in their selection of subordinates. Acting on the previous report of the commission, the legislature created a permanent finance commission, to be appointed by the governor (see *supra*, p. 741) and provided for the supervision of certain municipal appointments by the state civil-service commission, the origination of appropriations by the mayor and the publication of an official municipal journal.—A police inspector, a detective and eight other persons were indicted in **Chicago** in July for receiving bribes to protect vice. The city's bonding power has been increased $16,000,000 by the state legislature.—Mayor Johnson of **Cleveland** met with a severe reverse in August, when a franchise intended to introduce three-cent-fare car lines was defeated on a referendum after a bitter fight.—In May a new city charter was adopted by **Colorado Springs**, providing among other things for the recall of elective officials.—During the summer Police Commissioner Bingham of **New York City**, charged with illegally detaining the picture and measurements of an innocent boy and acting arbitrarily in other respects, was removed by Mayor McClellan. It was publicly asserted that the real reason for the mayor's action lay in the fact that Mr. Bingham had incurred the displeasure of certain leading politicians. A new building code, alleged to have been drafted for the benefit of certain "interests," was passed by the board of aldermen but was vetoed by the mayor. After a long investigation by a special commissioner, Governor Hughes removed from office L. F. Haffen, president of the borough of the Bronx, the principal charges being that he had padded the payrolls and practised political jobbery in the management of local improvements. During the summer a special joint committee of the legislature considered the proposed charter for New York City.—James C. Dahlman, the "cowboy" mayor of **Omaha**, was reëlected at the municipal election held on May 4.—In **Pittsburgh** Charles

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R. Richardson, convicted of conspiracy in connection with the attempts to bribe Councilman Martin in the interests of the Tube City Railroad Company (see last RECORD, p. 359), was sentenced in June to imprisonment for one year and three months and was fined $500. Several other persons, some of them former councilmen, were sentenced to prison for varying terms for defrauding the city.—At a general municipal election in **Portland**, Oregon, on June 7, the commission system of government was rejected. At this election thirty-five legislative questions were referred to the voters.—The trial of Patrick Calhoun, in **San Francisco**, on a charge of offering a bribe to a supervisor to obtain an overhead trolley franchise, ended June 20 in a disagreement of the jury (see last RECORD, p. 360). A municipal referendum on June 24, on the question of issuing bonds for the construction of an underground railway line, resulted in the defeat of the principle of municipal ownership by a narrow margin.

THE ELECTIONS AND REFERENDA.—On November 2 elections were held and constitutional amendments were submitted to vote in a number of states. Eben S. Draper, the Republican governor of **Massachusetts**, was reëlected by a greatly reduced plurality. In **Rhode Island** Governor Pothier was reëlected on the Republican ticket by an increased plurality; and constitutional amendments were adopted providing for a new legislative apportionment and conferring the veto power on the governor. In **Virginia**, W. H. Mann, the Democratic candidate, was elected governor. In **Maryland** the proposed constitutional amendment (see RECORD of December, 1908, p. 760), designed to disfranchise the negroes, was defeated. In **Kentucky** the Democrats made large gains, securing two-thirds of the legislature. The Republican majority in **Nebraska** was greatly reduced. In New York, the Republicans retained control of the legislature; but several opponents of Governor Hughes's direct primary bill were unseated and the majorities of others were reduced.—A number of important **municipal elections** were held. The new scheme of government for **Boston**, providing for a council of nine members, extending the mayor's term to four years and instituting the recall and non-partisan nominations, was adopted. The Republican candidate, Louis Schwab, was elected mayor of **Cincinnati**. Mayor Tom L. Johnson, of **Cleveland**, was defeated by H. C. Baehr, the Republican candidate. The Republicans of **Indianapolis** succeeded in electing Louis Shank, after a hot contest. In **New York City**, William J. Gaynor, the Democratic candidate for mayor, was elected, but the "fusion" nominees were chosen to the other offices. In **Philadelphia** the reform ticket was defeated and District-Attorney Rotan was reëlected. The American party was again successful in **Salt Lake City**. P. M. McCarthy, union labor candidate, was elected mayor of **San Francisco**, and F. J. Heney, the Democratic candidate for district-attorney, was defeated by C. M. Fickert. Brand Whitlock was reëlected mayor of **Toledo**.—In the elections to the **Philippine Assembly** the Nationalist party was victorious.

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THE TRUST PROBLEM AND THE RAILROADS.—Following close upon the revelation of frauds perpetrated by the **American Sugar Refining Company** in connection with the weighing of sugar (see last RECORD, p. 361) came serious charges against the company for violations of the Sherman anti-trust law. In June the company agreed to settle by a large payment the suit brought against it by the Pennsylvania Sugar Company for having entered into a conspiracy to wreck the latter concern through a well concealed loan deal. Attorney-General Wickersham immediately instituted an investigation into the affairs of the trust; and in July indictments were returned against W. B. Thomas, president of the company, J. E. Parsons, counsel, and several other men prominent in the trust's management, on charges of conspiracy to restrain commerce in violation of the Sherman act. The defendants pleaded the statute of limitations, and on October 26 Judge Holt, of the United States circuit court of New York, sustained this plea as regarded G. E. Kissel and T. B. Harned, two of the men indicted.—The hearings in the action to dissolve the **anthracite coal trust** (see RECORD of December, 1908, p. 623) ended September 29. The case will be brought to trial in the United States circuit court at Philadelphia.—The hearings in the suit against the **powder trust** (see last RECORD, p. 361) were continued.—Five persons connected with the **turpentine trust**, who had been convicted in Savannah of violations of the Sherman law, were sentenced on May 14. Two of them received jail sentences.—In May the **Standard Oil Company** and the Republic Oil Company filed appeals in the Supreme Court of the United States from the decision of the supreme court of Missouri ousting them from doing business in that state and imposing on each of them a fine of $50,000 (see last RECORD, p. 362).—In August the authorities of Arkansas brought suit against the **American Book Company**, alleging that it was a combination in restraint of trade and asking that it be ousted from the state and fined $2,000,000. At the same time action was brought against sixty-five **insurance companies** for violation of the anti-trust law of the state.—During the summer the Interstate Commerce Commission instituted an investigation into the business relations existing between the various **express companies**. Charges were made that a conspiracy in restraint of trade exists between these companies.—On August 24 the United States circuit court at Chicago granted a permanent injunction sought by the Western **railroads** against the Interstate Commerce Commission, restraining it from enforcing an order issued by it on June 24, 1908, relating to the joint rates from the Atlantic seaboard to the Missouri River cities. This order sought to create a system of through rates less in amount than the sums of the local rates.—In June Attorney-General Wickersham directed the dismissal of the government suit against the New York, New Haven and Hartford and the Boston and Maine railroads for violating the anti-trust law. This was done on the ground that the legislature of Massachusetts had expressly authorized the consolidation of those roads.—The federal grand jury at Rochester, New York, returned indictments on May 24

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against the Buffalo and Susquehanna and the Erie railroads for failure to observe the rate laws and for granting concessions. The Buffalo and Susquehanna Coal Mining Company was indicted for accepting concessions.—The Missouri Pacific and the St. Louis, Iron Mountain and Southern railroads pleaded guilty to charges of rebating in the federal court at Little Rock, Arkansas, in June. A fine of $7500 was imposed in each case.—In May the attorney-general of Missouri instituted *quo warranto* proceedings in the supreme court of the state against a number of railroads, asking for a forfeiture of their charters or the imposition of fines. The information charged them with conspiring to fix passenger rates in violation of the common law and with conspiring to put into effect a combination of freight rates in violation of the state anti-trust laws.—The Pennsylvania two-cent-fare law was again held unconstitutional by the common pleas court in Philadelphia in June.—An injunction was issued by the circuit court in Charleston, West Virginia, in August, restraining the state and county officials from enforcing the two-cent-fare law against the Norfolk and Western railroad, on the ground that the act is confiscatory and unconstitutional. The road was required to issue with three-cent-fare tickets coupons for all sums collected in excess of two cents a mile, until a test case pending in the state supreme court should be decided.

LABOR AND CAPITAL.—The most serious labor trouble during the period under review was the strike at the mills of the Pressed Steel Car Company at **McKee's Rocks**, Pennsylvania. The strikers, largely foreigners, demanded higher wages. Almost 6000 men were affected. Serious riots took place about the middle of July, in which a number of persons were injured. The company attempted to re-open the mills, but comparatively few of the strikers returned to work. Both sides sought the intervention of a court of equity, but in each case injunctions were refused. A large number of strikebreakers were brought in by the company. Riots occurred again toward the end of August, and five men were killed. Charges were made that the strikebreakers were kept in peonage, and the Department of Justice ordered an immediate investigation of conditions at McKee's Rocks. Special agents, who were sent to the spot, made a thorough inquiry. Commissioner of Labor Charles P. Neill also went to investigate the strike. No clear cases of peonage were found, but evidence of violations of state labor laws was discovered and transmitted to the governors of New York and Pennsylvania. On September 8 the men voted to return to work, the company conceding most of their demands.—The **white firemen** on the Georgia Railroad went out on strike on May 17, protesting against the employment of negroes by the company. At many points persons in sympathy with the strike dragged negroes from trains and whipped them. On May 23 the white engineers also quit work and the entire line was tied up. Commissioner of Labor Charles P. Neill and, later, Chairman Knapp of the Interstate Commerce Commission went to Georgia and tried to settle the dispute. On May 29 it was agreed that the men should return to work

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under conditions existing previous to the strike, and that the question of the elimination of negro firemen should be submitted to arbitration. An arbitration board decided that the employment of negro firemen should be continued.—About 20,000 men in the **tin plate** industry went out on strike, June 30, from the plants of the American Sheet and Tin Plate Company, which are situated in various towns of Pennsylvania, Ohio, West Virginia and Indiana.—More than 6000 **miners** struck in West Virginia in the latter part of May, because the operators demanded the long ton.—A strike on the **trolley-car** system of Philadelphia broke out in May. Mob violence occurred in many places throughout the city. Strikebreakers were attacked by the strikers and their sympathizers, and a large number of persons were injured. The strike was called off after one week, when the company conceded higher wages and shorter hours.—A strike of the **street car** men took place in Pittsburg in the latter part of June. After two days the company granted practically every demand of the men, and the strikers returned to work.—A similar strike broke out in Omaha about the middle of September.—A street car strike took place in Evansville, Indiana, on May 29 and was accompanied by local disorders.—A **machinists'** strike broke out in the repair shops of the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad system early in June. The men objected to the introduction of the piece-work system. The strike extended to Pennsylvania, Ohio and Indiana.—A packing room employees' strike in Lynn, Massachusetts, which took place in June and lasted one week, ended in a victory for the strikers.—The **hatmakers'** strike over the use of the union label (see last RECORD, p. 362) was settled on June 8, in the main in favor of the employers.—The District of Columbia court of appeals, on November 2, affirmed the decree of the supreme court of the district adjudging Samuel Gompers, Frank Morrison and John Mitchell, of the American Federation of Labor, guilty of contempt of court in the **Bucks Stove and Range Case** (see RECORD of June, 1909, p. 362).

THE RACE PROBLEM AND LYNCHING.—A strike of white firemen took place on the Georgia Railroad in June on the ground that they objected to the employment of negro firemen. The question was referred to arbitration and decided in favor of the blacks (see *supra*, p. 745).—On May 24 the Supreme Court of the United States adjudged Sheriff John F. Shipp of Hamilton county, Tennessee, and nine other persons in contempt of court for not preventing the lynching of a negro, Edward Johnson, in March, 1905. Johnson was constructively in the custody of the court, as he had been sentenced to death for assault, and the Supreme Court had granted an appeal from a decision of the United States circuit court denying him a writ of *habeas corpus*, thus effecting a stay of proceedings. On the night after the appeal was allowed, Johnson was taken out of the jail at Chattanooga and hanged.—At Tyler, Texas, on May 1, a mob of 1000 persons took Jim Hodges from jail and hanged him to a scaffolding at the unfinished new court house, for attacking a woman the preceding night.—An unidentified negro, who assaulted the wife of a farmer at Camden, Florida,

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on May 9, was captured by a mob and lynched.—On May 25 Lovett Davis, charged with assaulting a young girl at Pine Bluff, Arkansas, was taken from the jail at midnight and hanged to a telegraph pole. The sheriff and his deputies attempted to defend the prisoner against the mob but were soon overpowered.—John Maxey, accused of shooting a white man, was removed from the jail at Frankfort, Kentucky, on June 3 and hanged to a bridge. The lynching took place within a few blocks of the state house.—Malk Morris, who had been condemned to death for the murder of the late sheriff of the county, was taken by a mob from the jail at Tallahassee, Florida, early on the morning of June 6, and hanged to a tree within the jail enclosure.—On June 26 a mob of masked men at Wilburton, Oklahoma, removed Sylvester Stenien, who had killed a deputy constable, from the jail and hanged him to a telephone pole near by.—The efforts of a mob at Middlesboro, Kentucky, who on July 31 tried to lynch James White, accused of assaulting a little girl, were frustrated by the sheriff. When the mob arrived the prisoner had been spirited away.—On September 16, negroes blew up with dynamite the store of one of the three white merchants located in Taft, Oklahoma. They placarded the neighborhood with warnings that unless the three white men left town immediately death would be their punishment.

III. LATIN AMERICA

The **Cuban** Congress adjourned on July 18 after a five months' session. Laws were passed creating a national lottery and authorizing the installation of a governmental telephone system throughout the island. No agreement was reached on the budget, which by constitutional provision had to be approved before June 30. President Gomez solved the difficulty by decreeing the budget of the preceding year, which carried appropriations of thirty-one million dollars.—The summer months witnessed preparations in **Mexico** for the meeting between Presidents Diaz and Taft (see *supra*, p. 733), for the national centennial celebration in 1910 and for the approaching presidential election. It was a foregone conclusion that General Diaz would succeed himself for the seventh time; but a lively contest for the vice-presidency developed between the official candidate, Señor Ramon Corrall, and General Bernardo Reyes, governor of Nuevo Leon. After a noisy newspaper war, General Reyes withdrew from the race in October and resigned his governorship. The governor of Chiapas aroused interest by a statement that the constitutional amendment of 1873, abolishing peonage, had proved a dead letter in remote districts and that further legislative action was needed to enforce it.—President Zelaya of **Nicaragua** in October faced a formidable revolt against his dictatorship in the coast towns. He charged President Cabrera of Guatemala with furnishing men and military supplies to the insurgents.—Señor Ricardo Jiminez was elected president of **Costa Rica** on August 30. Congress on September 18 declined to ratify the arrangement with the National City Bank of New York to take control of the country's finances in return for a loan of fifteen million dollars.—General Rafael Reyes was re-

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elected president of **Colombia** as a result of the congressional elections during the first week of June. A detachment of soldiers at Barranquilla mutinied on July 4, proclaimed Señor Gonzalez Valencia president and captured several steamers on the Magdalena River, but this movement was easily suppressed by loyal troops. General Reyes, however, resigned the presidency in August, alleging as his chief reason the unwillingness of Congress to ratify that portion of his treaty with the United States and Panama which exonerated the other parties to the contract from any injustice to Colombia in regard to the Panama revolution. Señor Valencia, who was chosen to succeed him, recommended to Congress that this question, together with that of the compensation due to Colombia for alienation of territory, be referred to the arbitral court at the Hague. Congress favorably received in October a project of a Chilean engineer, Arturo Unduraga, for a canal across the isthmus of Darien, utilizing for the purpose the channel of the Atrato River.—The criminal court at Caracas, **Venezuela**, on May 21 exonerated ex-President Cipriano Castro from the charge of plotting to kill Señor Gomez, the acting president, on the ground that the recent amnesty decree applied to him. General Castro, who had taken up his residence in Spain, renounced on July 12 his claim to the presidency.—President Alfaro of **Ecuador** convoked Congress in special session on October 28 to consider a proposed loan of ten million dollars for internal improvements.—Partisans of General Pierola attempted a revolution in **Peru** in June and by a *coup de main* seized President Leguia. The troops, however, remained loyal, released the president and restored order. An executive decree of May 14 prohibited the entrance into the republic of Chinese immigrants having less than five hundred dollars in cash.—The government of **Uruguay** in July granted a concession to the Trans-Continental Company to construct a railway 600 kilometers long from Colonia, opposite Buenos Aires, to San Luis on the Brazilian frontier. The contractors agreed to make a port at Colonia and develop 98,000 acres of land. Congress authorized a loan of six million dollars to be applied to public works.—The president of **Brazil**, in his message to Congress on May 3, stated that immigration had increased forty per cent during the year and that railway construction was being pushed forward in all directions. President Penna died suddenly on June 14 and was succeeded by the vice-president, Dr. Nilo Peçanha. A serious strike at the gas works of the Rio de Janeiro Light and Power Company caused considerable discomfort in June, but order was strictly maintained. The republic in October invited tenders for the rental of the port of the capital, the tonnage for the preceding year being reported as seven millions. A lively contest for the presidency was opened between Dr. David Campista, minister of finance, and Marshal Hermes R. da Fonseca.—President Montt opened the **Chilean** Congress on June 1. He urged economy while estimating a revenue for 1910 in excess of expenditures. His opposition to a bill passed by Congress, for the postponement until 1915 of the enforcement of the metallic conversion law, caused a cabinet crisis in August. Naval

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appropriations in October reached nearly twenty million dollars.—The president of the **Argentine** republic reported to Congress on May 15 a substantial treasury surplus. The campaign for the presidential election of 1910 opened in August with two candidates in the field: Dr. Saenz Peña, endorsed by the government, and Dr. Guillermo Udaonda, representing the opposition.

IV. THE BRITISH EMPIRE

THE EMPIRE.—An imperial **press conference** was held at London in June.—At the Imperial **Defence Conference,** held at London in August and attended by representatives of the self-governing colonies, plans were formulated for complete uniformity and interchangeability of forces as between all parts of the empire, for the appointment of an imperial general staff and for the establishment of military training colleges in the overseas dominions.—The triennial meeting of the imperial **chambers of commerce** at Sydney, Australia, in September, adopted resolutions favoring an imperial state-owned telegraphic system between Great Britain and Australasia through Canada; calling upon the various governments to suppress imitation trade marks by foreign rivals of British firms; and urging the creation of an "Advisory Imperial Council" to consider questions of imperial interest, particularly to promote trade. A resolution in favor of imperial preference was adopted by 81 votes to 31, the opposition being restricted to Australian and Indian delegates.—Lord Kitchener was appointed in August to succeed the Duke of Connaught as inspector-general of the Mediterranean forces, with command of the British army in India, the Soudan and Cyprus.

THE UNITED KINGDOM.—Beside the continued German war scare and the discussion over Great Britain's threatened naval supremacy, the United Kingdom was interested and concerned to an unusual degree in the "revolutionary" **budget** which Mr. Lloyd-George introduced in the House of Commons on April 29 (see last RECORD, p. 365). Demonstrations of various kinds were held throughout the country; a meeting at Hyde Park on July 24 in support of the government's proposals was said to have been attended by half a million; Lord Roseberry at Glasgow and Mr. Balfour at Birmingham declared in September before large gatherings their opposition to the Budget and recommended the substitution of tariff reform; the Catholic bishops in Ireland condemned the measure and the Nationalists abstained from voting. The bill passed the second reading in the House of Commons by a vote of 366 to 209 and with slight amendment. It encountered the expected opposition of the Lords, many of whom found objections to it as embodying measures and principles not strictly of a financial nature. The government declared that the upper house must yield, and several newspapers intimated, late in October, that the king was using his influence to effect a compromise. Mr. Keir Hardie, the Labor leader, declared in a remarkable speech in Parliament that if the king interfered in politics the crown would follow the coronets into the melting-pot. —The **Irish Land Bill** passed its third reading in the lower house on Sep-

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tember 17 by 174 votes to 51. The Lords so amended it in October as to eliminate its most important features, including the power vested in the estates commissions of naming a compulsory price when landlord and tenant should fail to agree and also the elective element in the board established to purchase lands for smaller holders in congested districts. The Nationalists announced that they would have the bill in its original form or not at all. —All parties seemed to agree that the dissolution of **Parliament** was imminent, either on the Land Bill or the budget or the question of the House of Lords. In the lower house there were, on November 1, 367 Liberals, 83 Nationalists, 52 Labor members, 2 Socialists and 166 Unionists. To obtain a majority the latter would have to win 170 seats from the Liberals.—The government pointed out on July 26 the desirability of taking all necessary steps to ensure the laying down of four additional "Dreadnoughts" to be completed in March, 1912. A great **naval** pageant in the Solent on July 31 was reviewed by King Edward and Queen Alexandra.—A parliamentary commission was appointed to investigate the censorship of plays.—A committee of the House of Commons reported adversely on the Daylight-Saving Bill.—The **strikes** in the United Kingdom during 1908 numbered 399, involving 300,000 workmen and a loss of ten million working days: 8.5 per cent were won by the strikers; 25.2, by the employers; 65.6, were compromised; the remainder were still unsettled.—Nineteen English **suffragettes** were sentenced to short terms of imprisonment on July 12 in connection with disorders in London.—The political Sinn-Feiners' annual convention in **Ireland** consisted of sixty-five members. It was announced that the membership had fallen to 581 and the year's contributions to $130.

CANADA.—The year's federal revenue was 85 million dollars and the expenditures slightly less.—It was semi-officially stated in October that an agreement between the Dominion and the British Admiralty, to be embodied in a measure known as the Naval Defence Bill, would occupy the attention of **Parliament** during the next session.—The September official estimate of the wheat crop was 107,180,000 bushels.—The total Indian population was reported in October as 111,000, showing an increase for the first time in several years. There were 146,908 **immigrants** during the year; and for the first time those from the United States exceeded those from the United Kingdom.—The Grand Trunk Pacific Railway was opened for traffic on July 7 from Winnipeg to Edmonton, a distance of 782 miles. —Damage to the extent of several million dollars was done by prairie fires in Alberta in October.—The first plenary council of the Catholic Church in Canada was opened at Quebec in September under the presidency of Mgr. Sbaretti, the papal delegate.—A conference of boards of trade of Nova Scotia, New Brunswick and Prince Edward Island adopted in August a resolution in favor of the union of those provinces.—A stubborn miners' strike began at Glace Bay, Nova Scotia, in August.—The parliament house at Toronto was destroyed by fire late in August.—Investigations by a royal commission into the municipal affairs of **Montreal** revealed in August start-

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ling maladministration and the criminal misuse of public funds. A subsequent plébiscite directed by a majority of over 16,000 the creation of a board of control.

NEWFOUNDLAND.—The long political conflict between the Bond and Morris parties was decided by the general **elections** in May, which gave the former 10 seats and the latter 28. Mr. Morris's government recommended to the legislature on June 1 a revision of the tariff, increased appropriations for education, measures against tuberculosis, extension of the colony's railway system, an improved steamer service with Labrador and along the coast and the establishment of old-age pensions. It declined to ratify the agreement made by its predecessor with the Commercial Cable Company. In July, as a result of constant trouble between the fishermen on the Banks, legislation was recommended against steam trawlers.—Sir Ralph Williams, the new governor, was enthusiastically received at St. Johns in September.—A great paper and pulp-wood plant, built by Lord Northcliffe of the London *Daily Mail* at a cost of over six million dollars and said to be surpassed in size only by the paper mills at Millinocket, Maine, was opened on October 8 at Grand Falls.

AUSTRALIA.—Mr. Fisher's Moderate Labor **cabinet** (see last RECORD, p. 366) was unable to attract the support of Mr. Deakin, who refused office in any ministry not pledged to his full program of compulsory military training, formation of a local squadron and strengthening of the federal government in financial affairs; and the ex-premier, by a combination with the official opposition, overthrew the government on May 27, the day following the opening of the Commonwealth Parliament. Mr. Deakin, who then formed a coalition cabinet, presented several important bills to **Parliament**: establishing an interstate commission to undertake many of the functions of the British Board of Trade and supervise the working of the tariff; encouraging immigration; increasing the effectiveness of anti-trust legislation; providing for the compulsory military training of males from the age of 12 to 20. The Commonwealth treasurer, in his budget speech of July 12, reported the revenue for the past year as $71,750,000, a decrease of over three millions, and pointed out that the requirement to return three-fourths of the customs revenue to the states would expire at the end of the next year.—The minister of **defence** stated that the offer of ten million dollars for the imperial navy was unconditional, but he hoped the home authorities would employ the money in building swift cruisers for the Australian trade route. Mr. Deakin informed Parliament on August 22 that the Australian squadron would comprise six cruisers, nine destroyers and a small flotilla of submarines. He also announced that Lord Kitchener would visit the Commonwealth and advise the government on military matters.—The High Court decided in June that a federal arbitration court had power to overrule the awards of state arbitration courts in disputes extending beyond one state.—The state governments spent in 1908 over twelve and a half million dollars on **education** in 7500 schools.—The **New South Wales** legislative

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assembly offered the Commonwealth in September 800 square miles of territory for the federal capital. The Commonwealth having undertaken to provide for general naval defence, the New South Wales Dreadnought fund was applied to the foundation of a naval college and the establishment of farms for the training of British immigrants.—General elections in **Queensland** in October returned 40 Governmental, 28 Labor and four Independent Opposition representatives.—Mr. Neale formed a Labor ministry in **Tasmania** in October.—A bill was introduced in the **Victoria** legislature in July proposing advances to settlers aggregating a million dollars a year and an annual grant of two and a half millions for three years for the purchase of estates for closer settlement.

NEW ZEALAND.—**Parliament,** after having approved the government's offer of assistance to the British navy, was prorogued while the premier, Sir Joseph Ward, attended the Imperial Defence Conference at London. Feeling seemed strong against the establishment of a separate colonial navy.—Considerable distress attendant upon lack of work was reported in July, and the government promised a bill for insurance against unemployment.—The premier announced upon his return that he had raised a loan of five million dollars for public works and had made arrangements for obtaining loans of a half million or more for local bodies.

SOUTH AFRICA.—The National Convention reassembled at Bloemfontein on May 3 to consider amendments proposed by the various colonies to the **Act of Union** (see last RECORD, pp. 368, 369). The principal changes were the restriction of proportional representation to the election of senators and members of the executive committees of provincial councils, and the provision that naturalized citizens of one colony should be considered citizens throughout the Union. The document was signed on May 11 and resubmitted to the colonies. The Transvaal and Orange River Colonies adopted it on June 2, and the Cape Colony a week later, despite the opposition of Mr. Schreiner. Natal accepted the constitution by a referendum of 11,121 votes in favor to 3701 opposed. A committee of the National Convention then took the document to London, where it was enacted, with a few technical amendments, by Parliament on August 19.—A council for native affairs was formed in **Natal** in June.—Legislation before the **Transvaal** Parliament included restrictions on betting and the publication of betting news, measures dealing with lotteries and with money-lending and a provision for proportional representation in municipalities.

INDIA.—A meeting of the All-India Moslem League at Lucknow on May 23 protested against the government's expressed intention to restrict separate representation of **Mohammedans.** A committee was appointed to confer with the viceroy's executive council, and it was reported in July that a satisfactory conclusion would shortly be reached. Later in the same month, several non-Moslem protests were filed with the viceroy against special concessions to Mohammedans.—Lord Morley in June sanctioned the proposed Indo-Ceylon Railway.—A bill to amend and consolidate the **factory laws**

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in the Indian Empire, embodying a restriction of the hours of labor, was submitted to the Legislative Council on July 30.—The Bombay government adopted extensive measures in June for improving the city of Bombay.—The government of Eastern Bengal approved in September an elaborate scheme for policing the 5000 miles of waterways in that province. **Raiding** on the Afghanistan frontier continued throughout the summer, and there was some revival of political excitement in Eastern Bengal.—Drastic measures were adopted by the Legislative Council in July, and order was maintained on Boycott Day, August 7.—Madur Lal Dhingra, who assassinated Sir Curzon Wyllie of the India Office and Dr. Lalcaca, a native Indian, of the Imperial Institute, was hanged at London on August 17.—Public meetings were held at Bombay in September to protest against the treatment of Indians in South Africa.

OTHER DEPENDENCIES.—Eight British insurance companies withdrew in August from business in **Jamaica**, and premium rates doubled.—Sir Henry Bell was transferred in September from the governorship of Uganda to **Northern Nigeria.**—The legislative council of **St. Vincent** voted in July an annual contribution of one per cent of the local revenues towards the maintenance of the British navy. (For Egypt, see AFRICA, p. 759.)

V. CONTINENTAL EUROPE

FRANCE.—Parliament supported the government in May in its determined repression of the postal and telegraph strikes and adopted its recommendation to accord partial rights of association to members of the civil service. A general strike proclaimed by the Federation of Labor proved a failure. On June 15, M. Cruppi, minister of commerce, introduced the promised tariff bill, providing a thorough revision of the law of 1892. As temporary taxes to cover the estimated deficit of forty million dollars, the government proposed an excise duty on petrol for motor-cars, a progressive state tax on dogs, taxes on advertisements, wine and tobacco, and a new scheme of death duties. The Navy Council recommended early in June a complete reorganization of the navy and a program involving the construction of forty-five battleships by the year 1920 and an estimated outlay of 600,000,000 dollars. The parliamentary commission on naval affairs reported late in the month through its chairman, ex-Foreign Minister Delcassé, the results of a long and painstaking investigation. The report was in substance a most severe indictment of French naval management during the past five years: it accused the Admiralty of extravagance, lack of method and even of fraud. In the course of the naval debate on July 20, M. Clémenceau, the premier, had a hot altercation with M. Delcassé, accusing him of having brought France to humiliation at Algeciras. M. Delcassé replied with such effect that the Chamber, amid cheers from the Right and Extreme Left, voted against the government 212 to 176. M. Clémenceau, whose **ministry** had been the longest in the history of the Third Republic, resigned and was succeeded by one of his colleagues, M. Aristide Briand.

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New appointments included General Brun to the war portfolio; Admiral Boué de Lapeyrère, navy; and M. Millerand, posts and telegraphs. M. Briand announced his adherence to M. Clémenceau's policies, and the Chamber voted confidence in the new ministry on July 27 by 306 to 46. In the course of a debate on ship subsidies, the Chamber resolved that shipping companies applying for government assistance should in return be required to submit to financial supervision by the state, to concede a share in the profits and to accept the principle that the amount of the subvention should be made to vary in proportion to earnings.—A serious strike of seamen and wharf hands occurred at Marseilles during May and June.—An official scheme for the embellishment of **Paris** at a total cost of $158,400,000 was brought before the Municipal Council in June.—The increase in the number of conscripts who failed to join the colors was attributed by the minister of war in August to the growth of **anti-militarism**.—The Bordeaux winegrowers objected strongly in September to the government's comprehensive definition of the term "Bordeaux."—A recrudescence of Clerical opposition to the **separation law** was reported from various parts of France. Cardinal Andrieu, archbishop of Bordeaux, the archbishop of Auch and the bishop of Bayonne were fined for condemning text books in the government schools or for preaching against the secular authorities. The French episcopate in October issued a joint pastoral letter, urging Catholics not to send their children to the public schools and demanding unhampered freedom for the church. The archbishop of Toulouse advised the immediate formation of a political party.

GERMANY.—Prince Bülow encountered insuperable obstacles to the adoption of his financial proposals (see last RECORD, p. 371). In the **Reichstag**, a new majority composed of Conservatives, Centrists, Poles and Anti-Semites, who stood solidly together against any form of the taxation of bequeathed estates, displaced the former National and Conservative *bloc*, upon which the chancellor relied. The coalition recommended substitute taxes on the output of the milling industry, on the export of coal, on bonds and securities and on transfers of real estate, and an especially high duty on tea, coffee and matches, all of which were expected to aggregate 125,000,000 dollars a year. Prince Bülow opened the debate on June 16 with a review of the negotiations on the subject with the different parties and stated that he had refused the active coöperation of no party, but adhered to an inheritance tax and declined to uphold other taxes which would seriously injure trade. The Reichstag on July 10 rejected his proposals by 194 votes to 186 and adopted the substitute measures. The leader of the Conservatives, von Heydebrand, explained that the opposition to the inheritance tax had been determined by the fact that it was a general property tax, and his party could not place such a tax in the hands of a legislature elected by equal voting; such a tax would be extended and might lead to expropriation of property. The Reichstag was unexpectedly closed by imperial decree on July 13, and the next day Prince Bülow resigned. He was succeeded

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by Dr. von Bethmann-Hollweg, secretary of the Interior, who accepted the taxation scheme shaped by the majority but announced that in other respects he should follow the policies of the retiring chancellor.—At the opening of the **Socialist** Congress at Leipzig on September 13, it was reported that there were 633,000 organized Socialists in the empire.—The fifth and sixth German "Dreadnoughts" were launched at Kiel in September.—Complete returns from the elections to the **Baden** Diet showed that the Socialists polled 80,800 votes, compared with 50,400 in 1905, while all the other parties lost ground.—The election-returns committee of the **Prussian** Diet declared invalid the election of four out of the seven Berlin Socialist deputies on the ground of irregularities. Census returns indicate a declining birthrate in Prussia.

AUSTRIA-HUNGARY.—The *Neue Freie Presse* of Vienna estimated in September that Count von Aehrenthal's annexation policy had already cost the dual monarchy 150,000,000 dollars.—The results of the session of the **Austrian** Reichstag, which closed in July, were practically nil, owing to the obstructionist tactics of the non-German parties aided by the Social Democrats. The emperor on July 5 opened the new railway from Spittal to Gastein, which, by piercing the Tauern Alps, completes the second Austrian route to Trieste and affords a new line of communication between northwestern and central Europe and the Adriatic.—The **Hungarian** cabinet resigned early in May, on account of the king's opposition to a division of the state bank and to the extension of the use of the Magyar language in the regiments of the joint army recruited from Hungary. Dr. Wekerle was prevailed upon in July to resume office pending a settlement, but his coalition cabinet resigned again at the opening of the chambers on September 28; and the premier advised the king, amid loud cheering by the Party of Independence, to send for M. Kossuth. An order issued by the minister of public instruction for the use of Magyar for religious instruction in the schools of the Rumanian subjects of Hungary evoked protests in September from the Catholic and Greek Rumanian bishops.—The trial of the fifty-two **Slavic** leaders indicted at Agram for high treason (see last RECORD, p. 372) was resumed and sentence was pronounced at Vienna on October 5. Thirty-one were condemned to various terms of penal servitude and to the payment of costs amounting to nearly $15,000; the others were acquitted. The prevailing opinion of the press seemed to be that the charges were hardly proved and that the sentences were mainly for political purposes.

ITALY.—**Parliament** considered during the summer several important measures. The ship subsidy bill, carrying a special agreement for twenty years with the Italian Lloyd Company, aroused great opposition in Sicily and led to violent scenes in the Chamber on July 7; further consideration was deferred until the end of the year. Bills for the payment of legislators were introduced. A miners' nine-hour bill was passed in August. Another enactment aimed to expedite the excavation of Herculaneum. The amended naval estimates proposed expenditures of 88,000,000 dollars spread

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over six years and the immediate building of two battleships, two cruisers and a flotilla of torpedo boats and submarines. The Republican deputies attacked the government in June for allowing the growth of religious fraternities.—An agitation of farm laborers in northern Umbria for redress of grievances was organized in July by their clergy.—The municipal government of **Rome** authorized in August the construction of a grand boulevard about twenty miles long and sixty-six yards wide from St. Paul's Gate to Ostia.

RUSSIA.—The **Duma** was prorogued on June 15-until October 23. Important bills were passed favoring peasant land holdings, granting qualified religious toleration and reforming the judicial procedure; their fate in the Council of the Empire was problematical. The budget, as adopted, balanced at 1,470,000,000 dollars. The upper chamber restored the naval appropriation which had been rejected by the Duma; and the tsar refused his assent to the bill for the reform of the naval staff but declined to accept the resignation of the Stolypin cabinet. A proposal to abolish the Polish fortresses caused violent scenes.—The bicentenary of the battle of Poltava was enthusiastically celebrated in July, numerous monuments to Peter the Great being unveiled. Reports of the visit of the tsar to the Crimea in September indicated his remarkable popularity among the peasantry.—The Council of Imperial Defence was abolished in August.—A St. Petersburg by-election to the Duma in October returned M. Kutler, the Constitutional Democrat, by an overwhelming majority.—Decrees in September granted special permission to two hundred **Jewish** merchants at Moscow to retain their rights of residence outside the pale and renewed the restriction of the number of Jews admitted to the universities to three per cent of the whole.—The **Finnish** Diet, before adjourning in June, requested the tsar to repeal the law promulgated in 1908 relating to the revision of the convention on Finnish affairs. In August, a committee of five Russians and five Finns, with a Russian chairman to give the casting vote, was appointed to draft proposals for "regulations concerning the procedure of issuing laws of general imperial interest concerning Finland." The imperial government demanded in October a large military contribution and appointed Russians to fill vacancies in the Senate of the grand-duchy.—The Russian ministry announced its intention in May of transforming part of eastern **Poland** into a Russian government; but M. Stolypin finally compromised with the opposition by agreeing to introduce zemstvos in the southwest provinces.

SPAIN.—The military reverses at Melilla in July (see *supra*, p. 730) and the attendant widespread discontent with the government's Moroccan policy afforded an opportunity to the Republicans, Anti-Clericals, Socialists, Anti-Militarists and other radical groups to conduct an extensive agitation against the secular and ecclesiastical authorities. The anti-war movement led to riots in several places. At **Barcelona** it amounted to an insurrection: revolutionaries, estimated by the correspondent of the London *Times* at 30,000, controlled the city from the 27th to the 29th, burned or damaged thirty-

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six churches, convents or other religious foundations and killed several persons. The uprising was suppressed by royal troops on the 29th and 30th with a total loss of a hundred killed and a thousand wounded. Señor Francisco Ferrer, the head of the celebrated anti-clerical "modern school" at Barcelona, who had before been tried and acquitted of complicity in the bomb outrage on the occasion of King Alphonso's marriage, was arrested on September 1, charged with having taken a leading part in the Barcelona riots. Compromising proclamations were found at his house; and he was tried on October 5 before a court-martial, found guilty and executed on October 13. Demonstrations of protest against this execution were reported from every European capital and from many countries of the new world. The ministry restored the constitutional guarantees, which had been suspended since July, and convoked the Cortes on October 15. In the latter, the Liberals joined the Radicals in condemning the repressive policy of the Conservative premier, Señor Maura, which had discredited Spain abroad. The premier resigned October 21, and was succeeded by a Liberal **ministry** headed by Señor Moret y Prendergast, who promised conciliation and a speedy conclusion of the Moroccan war.—The **Cortes** before adjournment in May had approved the budget, which showed an estimated surplus of over 8,000,000 dollars, and had passed by large majorities a bill for the protection of maritime industries, granting subsidies to Spanish shipping lines aud imposing a tonnage tax on all foreign vessels calling at Spanish ports.—**Don Carlos**, pretender to the Spanish and French thrones, died in Italy on July 18. Don Jaime, the successor to his claims, declared that he would not kindle civil war or ally himself with the enemies of the Spanish monarchy.

TURKEY.—The **ministry** headed by Tewfik Pasha resigned on May 5, and the sultan reappointed as grand vizier Hilmi Pasha, a most pronounced Liberal.—The new **sultan** (see last RECORD, pp. 373, 374) was invested with the sword of Osman on May 10. He attended Parliament on May 20, and in his speech from the throne declared that the country's progress and prosperity depended on the maintenance of the constitution.—Treasure to the amount of nearly 5,000,000 dollars was found at the Yildiz Kiosk, after Abdul Hamid had been taken to Salonica, and was seized on behalf of the nation by the ministry of finance.—The execution of twenty-two persons implicated in the April mutiny at Constantinople took place on May 12; other executions followed.—It was announced that the pacification of Albania was proceeding steadily.—The court-martial on the **Adana massacres** reported in July the execution of fifteen persons, condemned the governor and other local authorities, accused the Armenians of having provoked the outbreak and recommended a general amnesty. The Armenian patriarch resigned in September as a protest against the findings, and the government promised to renew investigations.—**Military** and naval reorganization was begun in October: the former under the direction of a German officer, General von der Goltz; and the latter under a British officer, Sir Douglas Gamble.

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OTHER EUROPEAN STATES. — The **Norwegian** Parliament held secret sessions in August to discuss plans for army reorganization and for strengthening the country's defences, especially in the north.—**Sweden** was the scene of labor troubles during the summer months. A lockout involving about 13,000 laborers in paper, woolen and cotton industries was declared in June on the ground of the workers' violation of an agreement with their employers, and on July 26 was extended to 40,000 employees in allied trades. By August 1, about 250,000 workmen had joined in a retaliatory strike. The troubles interfered with tourist traffic as well as with other business. The peaceful character of the strike was ascribed by the press to the prompt closing of the saloons by the government. The Labor Federation called off the sympathetic strike on September 6; but the government was unable to negotiate a settlement of the original difficulty, and 60,000 men were reported idle.—In spite of a victory in the general elections to the **Danish** Folkething on May 25, M. Neergaard, the premier, did not feel himself strong enough to carry his proposals for new land fortifications about Copenhagen, and on July 31 he resigned. The venerable Count Holstein-Ledreborg formed a new cabinet, including the two ex-premiers, MM. Christensen and Neergaard; and on September 24 a bill passed Parliament providing for strong sea fortifications for the capital and for the maintenance and strengthening of the land defences. The Socialist opposition, however, was so bitter, especially against M. Christensen, that the cabinet resigned late in October, and M. Zahle formed a Radical ministry. The new government started in by abolishing all titles and orders and discarding uniforms. The **Icelandic** Assembly, in order to further the popular movement for separation from Denmark, voted in August to establish a university at Reykjavik with four faculties and sixteen professors.—The **Belgian** Chambers voted in June a special credit of nearly two million dollars for the fortifications of Antwerp. A special session was called on October 19 to consider a new army bill, which would abolish the ballot system, require only one son in each family to serve, and retain the principle of substitution. The trial of the suit for libel brought by the Kasaï Company against two American Protestant missionaries in the **Congo** took place at Leopoldville on September 17. M. Vandervelde, leader of the Belgian Socialists, defended the missionaries, having gone out especially to do so. Judgment was rendered against the company.—The Clerical coalition won 60 out of the 100 seats in the June elections to the second chamber of the **Netherlands**. The speech from the throne at the opening of Parliament on September 21 proposed temporary measures to meet a financial deficit of about five million dollars, and permanent measures, including an increase of the death duties, tariff revision and a general income-tax. —The four hundredth anniversary of Calvin's birth was celebrated at Geneva, **Switzerland**, in July.—M. Novakovitch resigned in October as premier of **Servia**, and a new ministry was formed, with M. Pasitch as premier.—In view of the opposition to his Cretan policy (see *supra*, p.

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732), M. Theotokis on July 17 tendered the resignation of the Greek cabinet and was succeeded by M. Ralli. Late in August, the organization of the army officers known as the Military League mutinied at Athens and demanded the removal of the royal princes from chief commands in the forces, the abolition of the general staff and the employment of foreign organizers for the army. The princes and the premier promptly resigned, and the revolt was at first regarded as indicative of a dynastic crisis; but M. Mavromichalis, the leader of the third parliamentary group, formed a new ministry in September which promised to carry out the program of the Military League in harmony with King George. The Chambers met on October 3 and proceeded to consider a mass of recommendations made by the League and indorsed by the premier. On October 29, naval mutineers, led by Lieut. Tibaldos, a dissatisfied member of the League, seized three torpedo boats and the marine arsenal at Salamis. The loyal forces suppressed the mutiny with slight loss of life.

VI. AFRICA AND ASIA

MOROCCO.—The sultan's eldest brother, Mulai Mohammed, who revolted in the preceding December and was captured (see last RECORD, p. 376) died in June in prison. The forces of Bu Hamara, who had maintained himself throughout the conflict of Mulai Hafid and Abdul Aziz (see RECORDS of December, 1907, p. 750; June, 1908, pp. 354, 355; December, 1908, p. 748) were defeated in June near Fez, and the pretender was confined in a cage. Reports were repeatedly circulated and denied that the sultan tortured his prisoners. Strained relations were also reported between Mulai Hafid and his two viziers.—The Riff tribes were in arms against the Spaniards (see *supra*, p. 730).

EGYPT.—The editor of the radical paper, *El Lewa*, was fined in August for libels on the premier.—The second Young Egypt Congress, held at Geneva, Switzerland, in September and attended by representatives of the British Labor Party and the Irish Nationalists, denounced British occupation.

PERSIA.—The Nationalists maintained their position at Tabriz (see last RECORD, p. 376); and the shah, yielding to the Anglo-Russian pressure for reform, promised early in May the restoration of the constitution, a general amnesty and elections to be held in July. An electoral law was announced in June providing for a Mejliss of 120 members, each province and town constituency to elect three times the number of representatives required and these to name the deputies. While the shah delayed giving final force to his promises, disorder increased throughout the country. Bakhtiari leaders marched on Ispahan. Serious disturbances occurred in Meshed. The Nationalists advanced from Tabriz toward Teheran. On July 6, Russian troops landed at Enzeli to protect the capital. The Nationalist Emergency Committee was unable to gain the support of the cabinet for its demands, and the premier, Saad-ed-Dowleh, resigned. After some fighting with the loyalist tribesmen, who were reinforced by Cossacks, the Nationalist forces

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entered Teheran on July 13 and were heartily received by the populace. The resistance of the shah, though stubborn, was ineffectual. An arrangement was effected on July 16 whereby the shah took refuge in the Russian legation. That evening an extraordinary National Council formally deposed the shah and proclaimed his son, Sultan Ahmed Mirza, a boy of eleven years. Azad-ul-Mulk, head of the Kajar tribe, was appointed regent; Nasr-ul-Mulk became premier. The ex-shah was allowed an annual pension of $80,000 and on September 9 left Persia under a Russian escort to take up his residence in the Crimea.—The new government, controlled by the Nationalists, experienced great difficulty in obtaining funds with which to restore order throughout the country, especially in Azerbaijan, where Sata Khan resisted its authority.

CHINA.—The government was concerned during the summer chiefly with grants of railway concessions and with foreign negotiations (see *supra*, p. 731).—The Dalai Llama returned to Lhasa in August.—The government offered in June to coöperate in founding a university on the European model at Hong-Kong.—The Pekin-Kalgan railway was opened on October 2.—October 14 marked an era in the establishment of constitutional government in the empire. On that day the provincial deliberative assemblies met for the first time in each of the twenty-two provinces of China proper, Manchuria and the New Dominion, a proceeding authorized by the imperial decrees of October 19, 1907 and of July 22, 1908.

KOREA.—Viscount Sone succeeded Prince Ito as Japanese resident-general in July. Further increase of Japanese control in that country was evidenced by the abolition of a separate military department and of a separate department of justice, the judges henceforth being part Japanese and part Korean but all appointed from Tokio, and by the establishment of a central bank in Korea under officers named by the Japanese government. Prince Ito, who had long been recognized as one of the foremost statesmen of Japan, was assassinated by a Korean on October 26 at Harbin, whither he had gone for a conference with Russian and Chinese officials.

JAPAN.—The trial of twenty-four present and past members of the House of Representatives on charges of **bribery** and corruption in connection with a sugar-refining company, was concluded at Tokio on July 4. Only one was acquitted, the others being sentenced to terms of imprisonment and compelled to refund the bribes.—A new **press law** provided for fixing the responsibility of editors, for a tax on newspapers in proportion to the size of the town of publication, for the indication of printers' and editors' names, and for closing the mails to any foreign paper containing any article calculated to disturb public peace and order.—The privy council approved in October the **budget** which balanced at 260,000,000 dollars.

[For colonies and dependencies in Africa and Asia, see the United States, the British Empire and the other European States, *supra*.]

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C. H. HAYES.

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